

THE ANTEBELLUM BARRIER ISLAND  
PLANTATION: IN SEARCH OF AN  
ARCHEOLOGICAL PATTERN

BY

SUE MULLINS MOORE

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE COUNCIL  
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN  
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

1981

Copyright 1981

by

Sue Mullins Moore

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project would not have been possible without the help and counsel of a number of people. I am particularly thankful to Sea Island Foundation, which provided not only monetary support but needed administrative and technical assistance. I would especially thank Mr. J.D. Benefield and Mrs. Barbara Otter. Georgia Department of Natural Resources was our other sponsoring agency as administrator of National Register matching funds. I wish to thank them also.

Extensive archival work was carried out at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library in Philadelphia, where the Butler documents are housed. I would like to thank the staff for their extensive cooperation and for allowing me the use of all the information. Other archival work was done at the Georgia Historical Society Library in Savannah; the Margaret Davis Cate photographs are used by permission of the Society. Ann Shellander of the Coastal History Museum on St. Simon's also provided necessary documentary data.

The project was fortunate enough to have input from John Anthony Scott, the editor of Fanny Kemble's journal. I am extremely grateful for his kindness and advice.

Spring 1979 field excavation labor was provided by the University of Florida field school. I would like to thank Beth Bennett, Dee Daugherty, Helen Doney, Patricia Fort, Pat Gleason, Jeff Johnson, Keith McIntyre, Tim Moore, and Jean Wollenberg. The winter 1979 survey crew and fall 1979 excavation crew consisted of Susan Harris, Tom DesJean and Barry Hart. Their diligence was truly remarkable and I cannot thank them enough. Laboratory assistance was provided by Pat Gleason. Her aid was invaluable.

Dr. Elizabeth Wing was kind enough to allow me the use of the Zooarcheology Collection at the Florida State Museum. Her patience saw me through the long months of faunal analysis, and her input has been much valued.

I would also like to thank Lydia Deakin, formerly of the Anthropology Department, for her assistance with the inevitable administrative problems that arose, and for seeing me through most of my graduate career.

My colleagues, Chad Braley, Jennifer Hamilton, and Theresa Singleton, provided me with valuable input from their own researches, and I am very grateful to them. I would particularly like to thank Theresa for sharing data (and commiserations) on the Butler documents.

I would like to thank the members of my committee, Dr. Edward S. Deevey, Dr. John K. Mahon, Dr. Jerald T.



Milanich, and Dr. Prudence Rice. Their input and patience has been appreciated.

For my entire graduate career I have had a mentor and friend in Dr. Charles Fairbanks. I know of no way to properly thank him for his time and support. He has been an inspiration throughout my work.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents, James and Mary Mullins, who saw me through this, and my husband Tim, who married me knowing I had a dissertation to write. He has been my critic and support during this passage.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	iii
LIST OF TABLES .....	ix
LIST OF FIGURES .....	xii
ABSTRACT .....	xvi
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION AND HYPOTHESES .....	1
Research Area .....	2
Pattern Recognition in Historical Archeology .....	5
Status on the Southern Plantation - Social and Economic .....	9
Hypotheses and Research Design .....	10
Other Proposed Areas of Study .....	12
Hypotheses .....	14
Project Sites .....	16
Project Methodology .....	20
2. COMPARATIVE RESEARCH .....	30
Kingsley .....	30
Rayfield .....	34
Cannon's Point .....	35
Butler Island .....	41
Other Sites .....	45
3. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND .....	50
The Barrier Island Cotton Plantation .....	52
Comparison to Other Plantation Systems .....	57
Pike's Bluff .....	59
Sinclair .....	63
Butler Estate .....	68
Family History .....	68
Property History .....	71
Hampton Plantation .....	72
Main Complex .....	72
Overseer's House .....	75

## CHAPTER

Page

Jones .....	76
St. Annie's .....	76
Production and Management on the Butler Estate .....	80
4. SITE DATA .....	104
Pike's Bluff .....	104
Kitchen Group Artifacts - Ceramics ....	106
Kitchen Artifact Group - Alcoholic and Pharmaceutical Bottles .....	109
Kitchen Artifact Group - Food Prepara- tion and Consumption .....	109
Architectural Artifact Group .....	110
Activities Group .....	111
Clothing Group .....	111
Personal Group .....	112
Tobacco Pipe Group .....	112
Faunal Group .....	113
Summary .....	114
Sinclair .....	114
Kitchen Artifact Group - Ceramics ....	153
Kitchen Artifact Group - Pharmaceutical Bottles .....	155
Kitchen Artifact Group - Food Prepara- tion and Consumption .....	156
Architectural Artifact Group .....	157
Activities Group .....	157
Furniture Group .....	158
Clothing Group .....	158
Personal Group .....	159
Tobacco Pipe Group .....	160
Faunal Group .....	161
Summary .....	162
Jones Creek Settlement .....	163
Jones Excavations - Cabin 4 .....	205
Jones Excavations - Tool/Storage Shed .	207
Jones Excavations - Road (342N,405E)...	208
Jones Excavations - 422N,418E .....	209
Jones Excavations - 430N,414E .....	210
Jones Excavations - 409N,382E .....	210
Jones Excavations - 438N,421E .....	211
Jones Excavations - Well .....	212
Jones Excavations - Cotton Barn .....	212
Kitchen Artifact Group - Ceramics .....	214
Kitchen Group Artifacts - Pharmaceu- tical Bottles .....	216
Kitchen Artifacts - Food Consumption and Preparation .....	218

CHAPTER	Page
Architectural Group .....	219
Activities Group .....	220
Arms Group .....	221
Clothing Group .....	221
Personal Group .....	223
Tobacco Group .....	225
Faunal Group .....	226
Summary .....	228
5. HYPOTHESES AND PATTERNS .....	305
Kitchen Artifact Group .....	307
Architecture Group .....	313
Artifacts .....	313
Housing Differences .....	314
Activities, Arms, Clothing, Personal, Tobacco .....	316
Faunal Group .....	317
Discussion of Hypotheses .....	322
Hypothesis 1 .....	322
Hypothesis 2 .....	324
Hypothesis 3 .....	325
6. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS .....	341
APPENDIX: COMMON NAMES FOR DISCUSSED FAUNAL SPECIES .....	345
ABBREVIATIONS USED IN REFERENCES .....	348
REFERENCES CITED .....	349
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH .....	362

# LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. A Comparison Of Artifact Profiles .....	24
2. Computer Program Format .....	25
3. Biomass Formula And Constants .....	28
4. Kingsley Ceramic Data .....	48
5. Statistics For Large Plantations In Louisiana	86
6. Pike's Bluff Documentary Data .....	87
7. Probate Inventory - Thomas F. Hazzard .....	88
8. Sinclair Documentary Data .....	90
9. Butler Estate Documentary Data .....	91
10. Butler Estate - 1815 Inventory .....	93
11. Butler Estate - Births and Deaths of Slaves ...	94
12. Butler Estate - Slave Census Data .....	95
13. Pike's Bluff - Ceramic Totals .....	115
14. Pike's Bluff - Ceramic Form Data .....	117
15. Pike's Bluff - Ceramic Form Data By Type .....	118
16. Pike's Bluff - Faunal Data .....	119
17. Pike's Bluff - Faunal Data Test Squares A & B	121
18. Pike's Bluff - Faunal Data Test Square C .....	122
19. Pike's Bluff - Faunal Data Test Square D .....	123
20. Pike's Bluff - Faunal Data Test Square E .....	124
21. Pike's Bluff Artifact Profile .....	125

Table	Page
22. Sinclair - Ceramic Totals .....	164
23. Sinclair - Ceramic Form Data .....	166
24. Sinclair - Ceramic Form Data By Type .....	167
25. Sinclair - Faunal Data .....	168
26. Sinclair - Faunal Data Kitchen Area .....	171
27. Sinclair - Faunal Data Test Squares B,C,D, & E	173
28. Sinclair - Faunal Data Domestic Slave House ..	174
29. Sinclair - Faunal Data Main House .....	175
30. Sinclair Artifact Profile .....	176
31. Jones Ceramic Data .....	230
32. Jones - Ceramic Form Data By Type .....	233
33. Jones - Ceramic Form Data .....	234
34. Jones - Faunal Data .....	235
35. Jones - Faunal Data Cabin 4 .....	237
36. Jones - Faunal Data Cabin 4 North .....	238
37. Jones - Faunal Data Cabin 4 South .....	239
38. Jones - Faunal Data Tool/Storage Shed .....	240
39. Jones - Faunal Data Road Area .....	241
40. Jones - Faunal Data 422N,418E .....	242
41. Jones - Faunal Data Cabin 2 .....	243
42. Jones - Faunal Data 430N,414E .....	244
43. Jones - Faunal Data 409N,382E .....	245
44. Jones - Faunal Data 438N,421E .....	246
45. Jones - Faunal Data Well .....	247

Table	Page
46. Jones Artifact Profile .....	248
47. Comparison Of Artifact Profiles .....	327
48. Comparison Of % Of Annular And Transfer Printed Wares On Coastal Sites .....	329
49. Comparison Of Sites By Ceramic Pricing Levels	330
50. Comparison Of Sites By Ceramic Form .....	331
51. Comparison Of Sites By Housing Differences ...	332
52. Faunal Data - Cannon's Point Planter .....	333
53. Faunal Data - Cannon's Point Overseer .....	335
54. Faunal Data - Cannon's Point North Slave Cabin	337
55. Comparative Domestic and Non-Domestic Animal Use .....	339

# LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Site Location Map .....	29
2. Georgia And Florida Plantation Sites .....	49
3. 1939 Photograph Of Slave Duplex At Hampton Point .....	97
4. 1939 Photograph Of Slave Duplex At Hampton Point - Interior .....	99
5. Main Plantation Complex - Hampton Point Subsidiary Structure .....	101
6. Overseer's House Ruins - Hampton Point .....	103
7. Pike's Bluff Site Plan .....	126
8. Pike's Bluff Main House Hearth Base .....	128
9. Pike's Bluff Main House Hearth Base .....	129
10. Pike's Bluff Privy .....	131
11. Pike's Bluff Privy .....	133
12. Pike's Bluff Privy Profile .....	134
13. Pike's Bluff Privy Plan .....	135
14. Pike's Bluff - Bung .....	137
15. Pike's Bluff - Transfer Printed Ceramics .....	138
16. Pike's Bluff - Transfer Printed Ceramics .....	139
17. Pike's Bluff - Ceramics .....	141
18. Pike's Bluff - Ceramics .....	143
19. Pike's Bluff - Metal Artifacts .....	145
20. Pike's Bluff - Metal Artifacts .....	147



Figure	Page
21. Pike's Bluff - Astrolabe .....	148
22. Pike's Bluff - Bone Artifacts .....	150
23. Sinclair Main House Plan .....	177
24. Sinclair Main House Ruins .....	179
25. Sinclair Main House Ruins .....	181
26. Sinclair - McIntosh Graves .....	183
27. Sinclair - McIntosh Graves .....	185
28. Sinclair Site Plan .....	186
29. Sinclair - Test Squares B,C,D, & E Slope Area	188
30. Sinclair Kitchen Midden .....	189
31. Sinclair Probable Slave House .....	190
32. Sinclair - Ceramics .....	192
33. Sinclair - Pharmaceutical Bottles .....	193
34. Sinclair - Metal Artifacts .....	195
35. Sinclair - Bone Artifacts .....	197
36. Sinclair - Metal Artifacts .....	199
37. Sinclair - Clothing And Tobacco Artifacts ....	201
38. Sinclair - Broad Hoe .....	202
39. Jones Creek Site Plan .....	249
40. Jones Creek Cabin 3 .....	250
41. Jones Creek Cabin 3 Chimney Plan .....	251
42. Jones Creek Cabin 4 - Duplex .....	252
43. Jones Creek Feature 5 Profile .....	253
44. Jones - Cabin 4, Feature 5 Wall Trench .....	255
45. Jones - Cabin 4, Feature 5 Wall Trench .....	257

Figure	Page
46. Jones Creek Support Structure .....	259
47. Jones Creek Possible Tool Shed .....	260
48. Jones - Tool/Storage Shed .....	262
49. Jones - Tool/Storage Shed .....	264
50. Jones - Tool/Storage Shed Feature 2 .....	266
51. Jones - Road Plan .....	268
52. Jones - Road Profile .....	269
53. Jones - Road .....	271
54. Jones Creek Feature 13 .....	273
55. Jones Creek Feature 13 Profile .....	274
56. Jones - 409N,382E Plan .....	275
57. Jones - 409N,382E Possible Structure .....	277
58. Jones - 438N,421E .....	279
59. Jones - Well Pit .....	281
60. Jones Creek Well .....	283
61. Jones - Well Timber .....	285
62. Jones - Well Bottom .....	287
63. Jones Creek Cotton Barn Plan .....	288
64. Jones Creek Gin Barn .....	289
65. Jones Creek Iron Support - Cotton Barn .....	290
66. Jones - Cotton Barn North Room .....	292
67. Jones - Ceramics .....	294
68. Jones - Pharmaceutical Bottles .....	296
69. Jones - Metal Artifacts .....	298

Figure	Page
70. Jones - Metal Artifacts .....	300
71. Jones - Arms and Fishing Artifacts .....	302
72. Jones - Personal Use Artifacts .....	304

Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate Council  
of the University of Florida in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

THE ANTEBELLUM BARRIER ISLAND  
PLANTATION: IN SEARCH OF AN  
ARCHEOLOGICAL PATTERN

By

Sue Mullins Moore

June 1981

Chairman: Charles H. Fairbanks  
Major Department: Anthropology

Plantation archeology, has, in recent years, focused on the derivation of status indicators on planter, overseer, and slave sites. This study, by examining artifact patterns on several plantation sites, has determined that economic level of the site inhabitant is an equally determining factor in the material culture assemblage.

Sites of known size (based on number of slaves) are examined and artifact profiles (patterns) are derived. The artifact frequencies of these profiles are statistically compared and it is found that as size of the plantation increases the frequency of non-essential artifacts also increases. The material culture of a small planter is seen to be very similar to that of an overseer on a large estate. This reflects the influence of economic position rather than social status.

Primary data were obtained from three sites excavated on St. Simon's Island, Georgia. It was felt that this research should be restricted to coastal sites, primarily barrier island, as they operated in a single economic system based on the cultivation of sea island cotton. Comparative data were derived from three other coastal sites. Artifact groups and status indicators, previously defined by other researchers, were used in this examination.

## CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION AND HYPOTHESES

The study of slavery has, in recent years, gained valuable new data from anthropologically oriented archeological studies of plantations site (Otto 1975, McFarlane 1975, Drucker and Anthony 1979, Singleton 1980). The plantation system of the American south has been the subject to the biases inherent in their primary source material. Contemporary accounts of the plantation system often suffered from falsification and from the fact that they were told from the perspective of the educated white observer. The later slave narratives suffered from the passage of time and the inability of the informants to recall details of their day-to-day life. By combining the evidence from the historical accounts and contemporary documentation with that from archeology, a more accurate and perhaps more complete picture of the plantation system is possible.

Plantation archeology has focused primarily on the excavation and discussion of single plantation sites. Other than a on-to-one comparison, usually with John Otto's (1975) work at Cannon's Point, almost

no attempts have been made to look for general patterns within the plantation system. Because of the differences that existed in organization and environment of the plantations in the different cash crop regions, the focus of this study was narrowed to one of these systems, the barrier island cotton plantation. As most of the plantation archeology completed has been in this region, it was clear that the coastal situation was a fitting start. The purpose of this pattern recognition, in turn, was to discover regularities in the artifact configurations reflective of underlying cultural processes. Specific hypotheses will be discussed later in this chapter.

#### Research Area

The barrier islands situated off the coast of the southern United States are suffering increasing pressure in the form of development. Efforts to mediate the impact of this development on the natural and cultural resources have included considerable archeological work on St. Simon's Island (Fig. 1). Under the auspices of the National Park Service, Sea Island Foundation, and the National Register of Historic Places, a great deal of archeological information has been gathered about life on St. Simon's during the colonial and plantation periods.

Continuing excavations at Fort Frederica National Monument have greatly increased the knowledge of colonial Georgia and life at a military colony (Fairbanks 1956; Honerkamp 1974; Reitz 1979; and Honerkamp 1980). In 1972, the University of Florida began a program of excavations at Cannon's Point (owned by Sea Island Company) on the north end of St. Simon's with funding provided by Sea Island Foundation and the National Science Foundation. This project produced a dissertation on the late Archaic period of the coast (Marrinan 1975), one on the proto-historic Guale Indians (Wallace 1975), and a third on an antebellum plantation (Otto 1975). It also produced two master's theses (McFarlane 1975, Martinez 1975). This work ended in 1975.

The University was asked again in 1978 to do an archeological survey of Butler Point, also on the northern end of the island (Mullins 1978). The most significant outcome of this survey was the location of the ruins of Hampton plantation. This estate is the focus of much of this dissertation.

Late in 1978, Sea Island Foundation initiated another project with the University, this time for the complete survey of Sea Island's remaining holdings on St. Simon's. This amounted to roughly 5000 acres, or approximately one-half of the high land on the island. Because this survey included the known ruins of several plantations, and



some significant prehistoric sites, additional funds were granted by the National Register of Historic Places. A total of nine months were spent in the field, involving the location, testing, and in some cases, partial excavation of twenty sites. Five different plantations were located and tested; three are the subject of this dissertation.

One of the "Golden Isles," St. Simon's is located within the natural area referred to as the southeastern coastal plain. This plain extends south and east from the piedmont fall line to the Gulf of Mexico, Atlantic Ocean and the sub-tropical lower half of peninsular Florida. It has an equitable climate with a mean winter temperature of 43<sup>0</sup>F. and annual precipitation amounting to approximately 53 inches (Johnson et al. 1974). It has been noted that most of the soils are excessively drained and have moderate to severe leaching (Long 1912:3; Johnson et al. 1974).

St. Simon's is one of the barrier islands which were formed during the Pleistocene and early Holocene periods at times of lowered sea level. At that point they were part of the mainland, the lagoon and salt marshes having not yet formed. When submergence began upon melting of the Pleistocene glaciers, they became islands separated from the mainland (Hoyt 1967).

### Pattern Recognition in Historical Archeology

The beginnings of the search for patterns in the archeological record can be seen in the rise of scientific or problem oriented archeology. Patterns had long been a focus of study in anthropology (Benedict 1934; Kroeber 1948; Steward 1955), although the concept and use of the word was somewhat different. With Steward can be seen the beginnings of the nomothetic-processual approach (South 1977). There was a need to see through superficial cultural differences and find more underlying similarities that were reflective of similar cultural processes.

Stanley South has been the foremost proponent of pattern recognition in historical archeology (South 1975, 1977). South has presented several patterns, the Brunswick Refuse Disposal pattern, the Carolina Artifact pattern, and the Frontier pattern (South 1977).

The Brunswick Refuse Disposal pattern is distinguished by trash deposition adjacent to structures, particularly at doors and windows and is present on eighteenth century British-American sites. These deposits seem to be secondary refuse and South defines two types: 1) a low bone-artifact ratio seen in the deposits immediately adjacent to the structures, and 2) a high bone-artifact ratio found in peripheral refuse deposits. South expresses

the Brunswick pattern in a law-like generalization: on British-American sites of the eighteenth century a concentrated refuse deposit will be found at the points of entrance and exit in dwellings, shops, and military fortifications. Testing at several sites appears to confirm South's hypothesis.

The Carolina Artifact pattern consists of a predictable frequency of certain artifact groups on sites, dating from approximately 1730-1830. South's pattern is based on five sites, primarily domestic. Table 1 gives the artifact groups and the mean and range of percentages for each. The pattern was tested on other sites and found to largely supported, but there were some differences. South points out that the ability to ascertain irregularities in the pattern may be one of its primary utilities.

When South was testing the Carolina Artifact pattern he found several sites which would not fit the pattern at all. From these sites the Frontier Artifact pattern was derived. The adjusted mean and range of the artifact pattern are given in Table 1.

When the Frontier pattern was compared to the Carolina pattern, it could be seen that there was a reversal in the ratio of kitchen and architecture artifacts (Table 1). The much higher ratio of kitchen artifacts in the Carolina pattern may be explained by proximity

to supply sources, the frontier sites being much farther from the distribution sources.

Application of South's Carolina pattern have been made at several sites. At the Spiers Landing site in South Carolina, the artifact frequencies of a probable slave site were compared and found to differ significantly in the clothing, activities and kitchen categories (Drucker and Anthony 1979). From this evidence it was suggested that new patterns might be necessary for non-urban or plantation sites.

The Carolina Artifact pattern was tested at another South Carolina slave site and a Carolina Slave Artifact pattern was proposed (Garrow 1981). The original Carolina pattern was revised to include colonowares (of possible slave manufacture) in the kitchen category rather than activities where South had put them. This made a significant difference in the two patterns (Table 1).

Theresa Singleton also proposed a Slave Artifact pattern for four sites in Florida and Georgia (Singleton 1980:216). This pattern appears much more like the Frontier pattern than the Carolina or Carolina Slave Artifact patterns. Singleton offers no real explanation for this except to suggest that there was a scarcity of midden deposits in her sample which probably biased the results.

The quantification of these patterns has been a fundamental part of their utility in testing hypotheses and comparison to other patterns, but it has also been used to mask one of the primary problems in pattern recognition, the neglect to go beyond the pattern to the processes that are responsible for the patterns (see Honerkamp 1980:29). The pattern in itself is merely another particularistic description. Once the processes that create the pattern are understood, then the differences or similarities between patterns can be explained from a processual viewpoint. So far, this approach has scarcely been applied.

At this point, it is felt that it will not be possible to derive a single pattern applicable to all barrier island plantation sites, but the derivation of patterns specific to individual sites or components (planter, overseer, slave) will allow quantitative comparisons to be made. Pattern recognition, then, will be used as a methodological approach (Honerkamp 1980:28-29). The inability to derive one pattern may perhaps be the most significant finding of this study and is implied in the hypotheses stated below. These hypotheses were designed to explore the processes responsible for the patterns, particularly status, both social and economic. This work will examine status both within and between sites as it is hypothesized that size of the plantation, and therefore the economic

status of the planter, will affect the material goods available to a site's inhabitants.

#### Status on the Southern Plantation - Social and Economic

Status can be described by a number of qualifiers - age, sex, biological relationship, social class, and economic levels (Linton in Bohannon and Glazer 1973: 187-200). Status, without one of these descriptions, generally refers to the sum total of all the statuses the individual occupies (Linton in Bohannon and Glazer 1973:187). Each individual, therefore, can have a number of different statuses, none necessarily dependent on any of the others (cf. Nash 1970:3).

Social status in southern plantation society has been discussed extensively by historians and archeologists (Stampp 1956; Eaton 1961; Otto 1975). Basically, ethnic caste (black and white) divided this society into two social strata. Blacks occupied the lowest stratum and were lumped together, whether free or slave (Genovese 1974:398-413). Whites, regardless of economic position, were considered to be of a higher social status. Slave ownership, in particular, was correlated with social prestige and political power (Wright 1970:68). Three levels of social status can be seen within the white social strata, "poor white", yeoman farmers and merchants, and large planters (Stampp 1956:29; Bonner 1965:58). Small

planters (those with fewer than 20 slaves) were considered part of the yeoman farmer group (Bonner 1965:58). Otto notes that even though the poorer whites were assigned the same broad social status as the yeoman farmers and planters, they often endured material living conditions comparable to slaves (Otto 1975:14). This is one indication of how economic level should affect the archeological remains of a site.

Historical archeology is fortunate in that many times status can be determined from the documents (cf. Otto 1975:12-13), rather than having to rely on material remains as the sole indicator. Using number of slaves owned as the most sensitive indicator of economic level (Menn 1964, Stampp 1956:30-31) for each site in this study, an attempt will be made to correlate and/or compare social status with economic status. It has already been pointed out that these are not necessarily the same (Otto 1975:14; Nash 1970:3). It is expected that the archeological record will demonstrate how these differences are manifested in the material culture of the plantation south.

#### Hypotheses and Research Design

The artifact categories being considered for the following hypotheses were modified from South's groups (1977:95-96), and are listed below. Not all of the differences can be addressed by the frequency derivations of South's (or any other) pattern. To this end, certain

other qualitative and quantitative differences are hypothesized. These are also listed below.

Recent work with South's pattern has suggested that colonoware ceramics should be moved from the activities group to the kitchen group (Garrow 1981). It is also proposed that the stub-stemmed pipes be moved from activities to tobacco pipes. A category has been added for faunal material.

#### Artifact Categories

##### Kitchen Group

- ceramics
- wine bottles
- case bottles
- tumbler
- pharmaceutical type bottle
- glassware (stemmed, decanter, dishes, misc.)
- tableware (cutlery, knives, forks, spoons)
- kitchenware (pots, pans, pothooks, gridrion, trivits, metal teapots, water kettles, coffee pots, buckets, handles, kettles, colonowares, etc.)

##### Architectural Group

- window glass
- nails
- spikes
- construction hardware (hinges, pintles, shutter hooks, staples, fireplace backing plates, lead window comes, etc.)
- door lock parts (doorknobs, case lock parts, keyhole escutcheons, lock bolts, and brackets)

##### Furniture Group

- hardware (hinges, knobs, drawer pulls and locks, escutcheon plates, keyhole surrounds, handles, rollers, brass tacks, etc.)

##### Arms Group

- musket balls, shot sprue
- gunflints, gunspalls
- gun parts, bullet molds



### Clothing Group

- buckles
- buttons
- thimbles
- scissors
- straight pins
- hook and eye fasteners
- bale seals
- glass beads

### Personal Group

- coins
- keys
- personal items ( wig curlers, bone brushes,  
mirrors, rings, signet sets, watch fobs, fob  
compass, bone fan, slate pencils, spectacle  
lens, tweezers, watch key, and other personables)

### Tobacco Pipe Group

- long and stub-stemmed pipes

### Activities Group

- construction tools (plane bit, files, augers,  
gimlets, axe head, saws, chisels, rives,  
punch, hammers, etc.)
- farm tools ( hoes, rake, sickle, spade, etc)
- toys (marbles, jew's harp, doll parts, etc)
- fishing gear (fishhooks, sinkers, gigs, harpoons)
- storage items (barrel bands, brass cock, etc.)
- stable and barn (stirrup, bit, harness boss,  
horseshoes, wagon and buggy parts, rein eyes,  
etc.)
- miscellaneous hardware (rope eye thimble, bolts,  
nuts, chain, andiron, tongs, case knife,  
flatiron, wick trimmer, washers, etc.)
- other (button manufacturing blanks, kiln waster  
furniture, silversmithing debris, etc., re-  
flecting specialized activities)
- Military objects (swords, insignia, bayonets,  
artillery shot, and shell etc.)

### Faunal Group

- food bone

## Other Proposed Areas of Study

### Housing Differences

#### 1. construction materials and techniques

- a) larger plantations should have more substantial  
structures, i.e. more tabby and brick
- b) smaller plantations should have less sub-  
stantial structures, less tabby and brick

2. expected durability
  - a) larger - expect longer durability with more maintenance
  - b) smaller - less durability, less maintenance
3. available living space
  - a) larger - more living space and greater range of types
  - b) smaller - less living space and less range of types
4. building hardware
  - a) larger - no difference in basic types, but perhaps a higher proportion because of greater maintenance
  - b) smaller - smaller proportion because of less maintenance
5. features available to occupants - fireplaces, porches, cooking facilities, storage areas, wells, privies, refuse areas
  - a) larger - more features and a greater range of types
  - b) smaller - fewer features, smaller range of types

#### Diet Differences

1. domestic plant and animal food
  - a) larger - more consumption
  - b) smaller - less consumption
2. non-domestic animal foods
  - a) larger - smaller range and less consumption
  - b) smaller - greater range and more consumption
3. food preparation facilities and techniques
  - a) larger - more facilities, better techniques
  - b) smaller - fewer facilities and cruder techniques

### Hypotheses

1. The artifact patterns of configurations on a plantation site, regardless of whether it is a planter, overseer, or slave context, will vary with size of the plantation. These pattern variations are believed to be a function of the planter's economic status. Larger plantations should have greater access to preferred goods. These differences should be reflected in the frequencies of the artifact groups and the already mentioned differences in other areas. As plantation size increases there should be larger quantities of kitchen related artifacts at the expense of architectural artifacts (cf. Otto 1975:13). The other groups usually have comparatively small frequencies, and may therefore be difficult to assess as far as the significance of any differences. It is tentatively proposed that: 1) personal and tobacco group artifacts, which represent luxury items, will increase with plantation size, and 2) activities, arms, and clothing will decrease with increase in plantation size as they are more representative of necessity items.

It should be pointed out, that as any system grows larger, it becomes more complex. Applied to this study, this translates to the larger the plantation, the more varied the activities carried out there, resulting in more material goods and resources available to the plantation

inhabitants. This phenomena is not unique to cultural systems and has been extensively treated in the literature on systems theory (Von Bertalanfy 1975; Chapman 1977).

2. When large and small plantation sites are compared, it is hypothesized that the artifact patterns within a small site (planter, slave) will be more homogenous than the intra-site patterns of the large site. This hypothesis will be tested by comparing the artifact frequencies within the prescribed categories already discussed. It is hypothesized that differences in frequency and range will be less within the small site than a larger site. This again is proposed to be a function of economic status of the planter. On a small plantation, more of the money available would be directed towards production of a crop and less towards non-necessity items for the planter or his dependents (Flanders 1933), which should be reflected in the material culture.

3. The artifact patterns of the domestic and field slave are proposed to differ because of the supposed higher status of the domestic slave (Stamp 1956:337-338; Owens 1976:106-120). It is hypothesized that the domestic slave will have greater access to preferred artifacts. The same artifact categories used for hypotheses 1 and 2 will be used.

As a definition for the sizes of the plantations, historical sources were consulted (Flanders 1933:128; Eaton 1961). Initially the division was three fold, large:

those over 100 slaves; medium: those with 20-100 slaves; and small: those under 20 slaves. The vast majority of the south's plantations fall into the small category (Flanders 1933:129; Eaton 1961). Problems with the field data necessitated the combination of the medium and small categories.

The sites chosen for this study are reviewed in the following section and in Chapter 3. John Otto's data from Cannon's Point will be used extensively along with the available comparable data from Kingsley and Butler Island plantations. All are barrier island cotton plantations, with the exception of Butler Island, which is a coastal rice plantation, and the size of each is known. The status indicators derived by Otto are used in conjunction with the testing of Hypotheses 1, 2, and 3.

#### Project Sites

Comparative data comes from three sites (Hampton, Sinclair, and Pike's Bluff) partially excavated during the project. All three are antebellum plantations located on St. Simon's Island. Both the size of the plantations and the size of the components excavated vary. This discussion is very brief and intended only for orientation. A detailed documentary account will follow in Chapter 3. The sites used in the study which were excavated prior to this research are discussed in Chapter 2.

Hampton plantation on Butler Point is the largest plantation studied, with, at one point, more than 300 slaves. Its owner was Major Pierce Butler, one of the original delegates to the Constitutional Convention. Hampton was probably the most prosperous of St. Simon's estates producing the staple crop of sea island cotton. There were four slave settlements at Hampton. One was in the immediate vicinity of the planter's house while the other three were scattered, one being over three miles from the main complex. The overseer's house was, at various times, located within the main complex and then at one of the outlying settlements. The overseer in the case of Hampton served more as a manager since Pierce Butler hardly ever resided on his Georgia estate (Van-story 1970:144).

Excavations at Hampton were conducted almost exclusively at Jones, one of the outlying slave settlements. Limited information from a previous survey is available on the big house and the overseer's complexes. The slave settlement excavations included work at one slave cabin; an auxilliary structure, probably a tool shed; a well; and a cotton barn. Several non-structural areas were also tested. The material from Jones is expected to yield data on the slave pattern. It is thought that it will vary from Cannon's Point because of the size and possibly management differences.

The second plantation included in the study is Sinclair or St. Clair. It also grew sea island cotton, though not to the scale of Hampton. Sources indicate that between 10-50 slaves resided on this estate (Hawes 1956, U.S. Bureau of the Census 1820). It was owned by General Lachlan McIntosh, of Revolutionary War fame, and began operation under the management of his son William around 1790 (Hawes 1956). The plantation changed hands several times before finally coming under the ownership of Pierce Butler about 1820 (Vanstory 1970:156; Butler Papers). When Fanny Kemble visited in 1839, she described the house as being in a ruinous state (Kemble 1961:246). It burned in 1857 (Vanstory 1970:156).

The excavations at Sinclair consisted of tests in two midden areas, one believed to be the kitchen trash area, the big house, and a small house that was probably a domestic slave cabin. There were almost no surface indications of the site, therefore the overseer's house (if there was one) or additional structures were not located. The remains from these excavations should yield data on both the domestic slave and the planter. The slave data can be compared to try to detect differences in the pattern of field and house slaves. The planter site will be used in conjunction with the others of the study to derive information on the range of planter material culture.

The final plantation being considered is Pike's Bluff, a small estate. There were probably no more than thirty slaves employed and it is believed that there was no overseer. The owner of the plantation was a Dr. Thomas F. Hazzard who purchased the land in 1827 (Glynn County Superior Court 1827). His brother, William, owned the adjacent plantation. Documentary evidence on this site is very scanty, but the date of abandonment appears to have been 1857 when Thomas Hazzard died. The site was used as a military outpost during the Civil War (Heard 1938) and was not occupied after that date.

The site today consists of looted ruins of what is presumed to be the planter's house, a privy and several middens. No slave cabins could be located. This may be due to the fact that the plantation was so small and the slave cabins much less substantial than those on larger estates. Excavations were carried out at three of the middens, the privy and a small test at the house. The privy and midden provided large quantities of material which should illuminate the life of a small planter.

The sites used for this study, then, can be ranked in descending size as follows:

- 1) Hampton and Butler Island (same owner)
- 2) Cannon's Point
- 3) Kingsley
- 4) Sinclair
- 5) Pike's Bluff

This ranking should be reflected in the artifact patterns in the manner specified by the research hypotheses.



### Project Methodology

The sites chosen for excavation were located and assessed during a survey of St. Simon's carried out from January to March of 1979. Documentary evidence aided in this survey location. The sites were judged on the basis of several criteria: 1) disturbance to the site, 2) size of the plantation during the antebellum period, and 3) availability of documentary sources. As it turned out, considerable exceptions had to be made for the third criteria.

Four sites were selected for excavation, Jones, Sinclair, Pike's Bluff and West Point. West Point later had to be eliminated (after three weeks of testing) because there had been too much post-bellum disturbance which had not been evident during the survey testing. This created a gap in the information about a small plantation. The particular segment at West Point to be excavated was the slave cabin area. This information was not able to be replaced by data from another site.

In addition to the excavated sites, data were available from two previously tested plantations on St. Simon's, Cannon's Point (Otto 1975, McFarlane 1975) and the main complex of Hampton (Mullins 1978).

Excavation of the selected sites began in April of 1979 and continued until June. During this time period all of the work at Jones and part of the work at Sinclair

was completed. This phase of the excavations employed the 1979 University of Florida Field School, a total of nine students and two field supervisors. A hiatus was taken during the summer, during which time preliminary analysis of the excavated material was completed. In September of 1979, excavation began again at Sinclair and, in addition, work was completed at Pike's Bluff. This phase of the project employed only three experienced archeologists (plus an occasional volunteer) and ended in December of 1979.

The information gathered from the survey was used to plan the sampling strategy for the excavations. Most of the structures and some features had been located. In view of this, placement of excavation units was non-random. Motorized shaker screens were used for general excavation while fine troweling was employed in the case of features. Soil samples were taken where necessary. The screen size used was 3/8 X 5/8 inch diamond mesh. This later was realized to have been too large for recovery of some of the faunal material. Hindsight would suggest the use of 1/4 or even 1/8 inch mesh in future excavations. At all sites detailed maps were prepared of extant structures and any encountered features. Laboratory analysis was done at the archeology lab at the University of Florida and in the zooarcheology range of the Florida State Museum.

The artifacts were preliminarily cataloged and separated for any special treatment. The faunal material was removed and taken to the museum for analysis. Metal artifacts, when necessary, were processed for preservation by electrolysis. Final cataloging was done following the initial separation. Once this was completed a system was developed to put the cataloged data into a computer for easier data handling. Table 2 shows the computer entry format. This data format later proved to be too simplistic for some artifact classes, creating some problems. In coding ceramics, South's (1977) ceramic numbers were used. This procedure greatly increased the rate of data handling and allowed quick and easy access to artifact statistics.

Zooarcheological analysis consisted of identifying the faunal species represented at each site, weighing the recovered bone and computing the biomass for each species. Allometric biomass computation is a relatively new technique in zooarcheology which allows the derivation of edible meat available to a site's inhabitants based on the bone weight recovered from the site. Table 3 gives the formula and constants used for this calculation. The provenience used for calculating biomass depends on the researcher; in this case, the individual field specimen units were used. This same procedure was used when calculating the biomass on the comparative data from Cannon's Point.

In addition to artifact analysis, considerable documentary research was carried out. The primary sources are located in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and include an extremely complete documentation of the Butler estate. Several letters concerning the McIntosh family's planting interests in Georgia were also in the Pennsylvania Historical Society Library. Limited information on the Wylly, Butler and McIntosh families was found in the Georgia Historical Society Library in Savannah. In addition, several 1930's photos of the Butler estate on St. Simon's were found in the Margaret Davis Cate Collection, also at the Georgia Historical Society Library.

In Brunswick, the Glynn County seat, are located the deeds and probate records available for St. Simon's. While the deeds are fairly complete, the probate records for the late eighteenth and nineteenth century are very scarce.

TABLE 1  
A COMPARISON OF ARTIFACT PROFILES

Artifact Group	Carolina Arti. Pat (%)	Carolina Slave Art. Pat. (%)	Spier Landing (%)	Coastal Fla./Ga. Slave (%)	Frontier Arti. Pat. (%)
Kitchen	63.1	77.49	73.7	23.34	27.6
Architecture	25.5	17.74	20.2	70.78	52.0
Furniture	.2	.07	.1	.02	.2
Arms	.5	.17	.2	.14	5.4
Clothing	3.0	.49	.8	1.03	1.7
Personal	.2	.05	.1	.09	.2
Tobacco Pipes	5.8	3.52	2.4	3.32	9.1
Activities	1.7	.48	2.6	.28	3.7

TABLE 2  
COMPUTER PROGRAM FORMAT

<u>Column Number</u>	<u>Variable</u>
1-3	Field Specimen Number, unique
4	Card number of case
5-10	Location, excavation unit
11-13	CERAM1 - brown stoneware bottles
14-16	CERAM2 - whiteware
17-19	CERAM5 - Canton porcelain
20-22	CERAM6 - mocha
23-25	CERAM7 - overglazed porcelain
26-28	CERAM8 - fingerpainted pearlware
29-31	CERAM11 - transfer printed pearlware
32-34	CERAM12 - underglazed polychrome pearlware
35-37	CERAM13 - annular pearlware
38-40	CERAM14 - annular creamware
41-43	CERAM17 - underglazed blue pearlware
44-46	CERAM19 - blue and green edged pearlware
47-49	CERAM20 - pearlware
50-52	CERAM22 - creamware
53-55	CERAM27 - black basaltes
56-58	CERAM28 - redware
57-59	CERAM29 - Jackfield
60-62	CERAM35 - agateware
63-65	CERAM38 - Iberian storage jars
66-68	CERAM40 - white stoneware
69-71	CERAM56 - lead-glazed slipware
72-74	CERAM65 - plain white delftware
75-77	CERAM71 - delft apothecary jar
Card 2	
1-3	Field Specimen Number (same as 1)
4	Card Number (2)
5-7	CERAM79 - brown salt-glazed stoneware
8-10	CERAM80 - grey stoneware
11-13	CERAM81 - transfer printed whiteware
14-16	CERAM82 - white porcelain
17-19	CERAM83 - spongeware
20-22	CERAM84 - yellowware
23-25	CERAM85 - shelledged whiteware
26-28	CERAM86 - blue and tan stoneware
29-31	CERAM87 - unglazed earthenware
32-34	CERAM88 - polychrome whiteware
35-37	CERAM89 - other

Table 2 - continued

<u>Column Number</u>	<u>Variable</u>
38-40	BH1 - H-hinge
41-43	BH2 - L-hinge
44-46	BH3 - strap hinge
47-49	BH4 - hinge, other
50-52	BH5 - machine cut nails
53-55	BH6 - wrought nails
56-58	BH7 - other nails
59-61	BH8 - spike
62-64	BH9 - lock mechanism or part
65-67	BH10 - other building hardware
68	OMET1 - lead seal (present or absent)
69	OMET2 - lead weight
70	OMET3 - lead shot
71	OMET4 - lead other
72	OMET5 - thimbles
73	OMET6 - brass button
74	OMET7 - non-brass button (metal)
75	OMET8 - cooking vessel
76	OMET9 - silver
77	OMET10 - brass
78	OMET11 - iron tools
79	OMET12 - iron other
80	OMET13 - copper coins

## Card 3

1-3	Field Specimen Number (same as 1)
4	Card Number (3)
5	OMET14 - copper other
6	OMET15 - tin cans
7	OMET16 - tin other
8	BS1 - bone buttons
9	BS2 - bone other
10	BS3 - shell buttons
11	BS4 - shell tools
12	BS5 - shell other
13	PIPEB - pipe bowls
14-15	BNO - number of bowls
16	PIPES - pipestems
17-18	DIA4 - number 4/64ths diameter
19-20	DIA5 - number 5/64ths diameter
21-22	GLASS1 - dark green wine bottle
23-24	GLASS2 - ale bottle glass
25-26	GLASS3 - other alcoholic bottle
27-28	GLASS4 - window glass
29-30	GLASS5 - pharmaceutical bottle
31-32	GLASS6 - drinking glass
33-34	GLASS7 - buttons

Table 2 - continued

<u>Column Number</u>	<u>Variable</u>
35-36	GLASS8 - beads
37-38	GLASS9 - other
39	TOYS
40-44	WEIGHTC - Total Ceramic Weight
45-50	WBH - Total Weight Building Hardware
51-55	WOMET - Total Weight Other Metal
56-58	WBS - Weight of Bone and Shell
59-61	WPIPE - Weight of Pipe Fragments
62-66	WGLASS - Total Weight of Glass
67-69	WTOYS - Total Weight of Toys
70	FLINT - presence or absence



TABLE 3  
BIOMASS FORMULA AND CONSTANTS

Equation:  $Y = ax^b$  where

x = skeletal mass

Y = biomass

a = Y intercept of log-log plot using method of least squares and best fit line

b = slope of the line

Constants	a	b
Mammal	1.12	.90
Bird	1.04	.91
Turtle	.51	.67
Snake	1.17	1.01
Chondrichthyes	1.68	.86
Osteichthyes	.90	.81
Non-Perciformes	.79	.85
Siluriformes	.95	1.15
Pleuronectiformes	.89	1.09
Perciformes	.83	.93
Sparidae	.92	.96
Sciaenidae	.74	.81

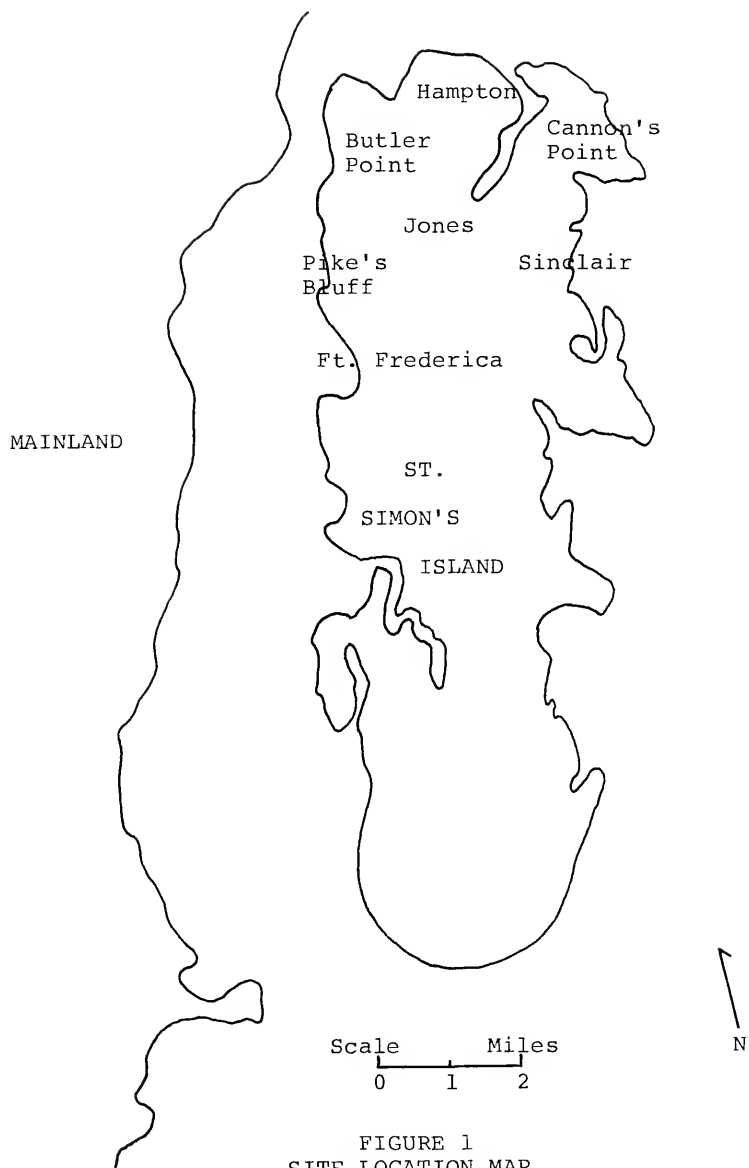


FIGURE 1  
SITE LOCATION MAP

## CHAPTER 2 COMPARATIVE RESEARCH

### Kingsley

The beginnings of plantation archeology can be seen in the work at Kingsley plantation (Fig. 2). Located on a barrier island off the coast of Florida, Kingsley was the property of Zephaniah Kingsley, a slave importer (May 1945:145). In 1968, excavations were conducted at a group of slave cabins. Parts of two cabins, out of a total group of 32 were tested in order to learn something about the structure of the house and about possible retentions of African heritage that might be present in a slave site (Fairbanks 1974:90). Zephaniah Kingsley had several African wives and seemed well disposed in the treatment of his slaves. For this reason, and because it may have been a slave importing station, it was thought that there might very well be evidences of African culture. Such did not prove to be the case. These and subsequent excavations were ample proof that slaves came with nothing and were not allowed to reproduce any material culture reflecting their African home. These excavations did, nevertheless, yield information on Afro-American material culture (housing, diet, material possessions), a subject which had been previously unknown.

The cabins at Kingsley appeared to be single family dwellings unlike many on the Georgia coast (cf. Singleton 1980, Mullins 1978). They were of tabby construction with brick and tabby fireplaces. One of the cabins was noticeably larger than most of the others. Fairbanks suggested that it may have been the home of the slave driver. This structure measured 24.5 feet by 18.6 feet (7.5 X 5.7 meters) with walls approximately seven feet high. There was the suggestion that the interior walls were plaster coated and that the cabin was divided into two rooms, the western being considerably larger than the eastern. The larger room appeared to have had a tabby floor. It is possible that the cabin had a loft for sleeping, but this was not evident from the archeology. The other cabin tested appeared to be of the same construction.

The ceramics recovered gave evidence of a long period of occupation. The most frequent type was ironstone which is also the latest type. Brown stoneware bottles were the next highest in frequency. Again this is a late ceramic. The other three ceramic types listed in the report represent a much smaller quantity, and perhaps an earlier occupation. Table 4 gives the frequencies and dates for these ceramics.

Fairbanks suggested that because the median dates were so disparate, perhaps two groups of ceramics were present. The first group had a Mean Ceramic Date earlier than would be expected for a plantation not occupied

until 1813. It was suggested that they might represent discards from the planter's house. Recent criticism of the Mean Ceramic Date has suggested that it may have inherent biases that cause early dates (Adams and Gaw 1977: 229; Braley 1980). While this does not necessarily rule out the possibility of planter discards, it provides another possible explanation and calls for further exploration of the problem. The second group, the stoneware and iron-stone, representing the majority of the ceramics, may well be indicative of a later re-occupation of the cabin after Kingsley's death in 1843 (Fairbanks 1974: 79). Other evidence of re-occupation came from the presence of wire nails, not available until after 1850 (Fontana 1965:89).

Of the artifacts, glass was the most abundant. Most of this was green bottle glass. The most interesting fact to note is the scarcity of flat glass, indicative of windows or mirrors. Only 28 fragments were recovered, which suggested that the windows in the slave cabins lacked glass and were, instead, dependent on shutters. A shutter pinion reinforced this idea.

Tobacco pipes were another item of relative scarcity, with only 15 fragments being recovered. They appeared to be typical of the period of occupation. Fairbanks suggested that the small number was not reflective of

the frequency of tobacco use and perhaps that they were using wooden or corncob pipes (Fairbanks 1974:86).

The discussion of faunal resources was not quantified so only a gross species list is available. It is not known how complete this is. Only fish, cattle, pigs, raccoons, turtles, clams, and oysters were noted. It is not known what kind of fish and turtle were recovered.

Included in the discussion of dietary items were artifacts concerned with subsistence. The presence of lead shot was noted, perhaps indicative of hunting. The presence of such artifacts contradicts the belief of most historians about slaves access to guns. This contradiction will be supported by other evidence presented in this work. Net weights, which in many cases are perforated lead shot, were also present. Cooking equipment was not well represented. A three-legged skillet and three-legged cast iron pot suggested that cooking was done on an open fire. One spoon, one fork, and two table knives were also present.

The overall suggestions of the subsistence material is that plantation supplies were being supplemented by wild game, fish, and shellfish. This idea has been repeatedly confirmed in later work (Otto 1975, Singleton 1980). It has been suggested recently that this may have been necessary to insure an adequate diet (Gibbs et al. 1980:248). Cooking was probably done by individual

families rather than central kitchens. The presence of food bone in the fireplace reinforced this idea.

Fairbanks found that the most surprising fact about the excavations at Kingsley was the total lack of any African elements in the material culture assemblage, particularly in light of Kingsley's position of slave importer. It seems that, even with Kingsley's permissive attitude, slaves were simply not allowed to reproduce any part of their material African heritage.

The Kingsley excavations were the beginnings of an effort to try to define what life was really like on a plantation. Until that point, slave sites had been almost totally ignored. These excavations were able to provide information on areas not previously addressed by historians. In some cases it contradicted the historical documents. Further work was necessary before the reliability of this new evidence could be assessed.

#### Rayfield

Rayfield plantation was located on Cumberland Island, the southernmost of Georgia's barrier islands (Fig. 2). Owned by Robert Stafford, it produced sea island cotton as did most of the barrier island plantations. Again, as at Kingsley, the excavations focused on the slave cabins. In this case only one cabin was tested. There were 18 cabins in all, each a single

family dwelling, arranged in two parallel rows. It was estimated that each cabin was 18 X 18 feet (5.5 X 5.5 meters) (Ascher and Fairbanks 1971:8). The cabins were of frame construction with a tabby and red brick chimney.

There were few artifacts recovered. Nothing diagnostic can be said about the ceramics. The nails recovered indicated that the cabin had been constructed after 1825, a fact supported by the documentary evidence. The faunal material was very scarce and so fragmentary that it was impossible to identify.

While the excavations at Rayfield did not provide any quantity of information on slave life, it did allow the accumulation of data on the plantation system. Information was gathered at least on the physical surroundings of the slaves.

#### Cannon's Point

Located on St. Simon's Island, Cannon's Point plantation was occupied from approximately 1795 to 1860. It was the property of John Couper and remained in the Couper family for its entire period of production. Couper was a Scotsman and had a great interest in agriculture. He was often experimenting with new crops or techniques (Otto 1975:41). One successful experiment was the growth and processing of olives for oil. Cannon's Point was a large plantation averaging about 100 slaves



during its productive years. The main house was an imposing structure three stories high. There were two slave settlements, one near the main house and one about one mile south. The overseer's house was located with the southern group.

Otto's main goal, in the work at Cannon's Point, was to try to define status differences in the material culture assemblages of planter, overseer, and slave (Otto 1975). It was found that these differences were most noticeable in the housing, ceramics, and dietary remains. Work was also conducted by Suzanne McFarlane at the southern group of slave cabins (McFarlane 1975). While this work was primarily descriptive in nature, it provided excellent information on the structure of a slave community.

Otto found that at the planter site there were more permanent structures as compared to lower status sites. The buildings were built to last longer and provide more comfort to their inhabitants. There were also a greater diversity and number of specialized areas available to the planter. Particularly, number of enclosed rooms was correlated with status. While the evidence did not support it, Otto felt that building hardware could also be a reliable indicator, the planter having more permanent building hardware.

The overseer existed somewhere in the middle when living structures were examined. He had more rooms and more living space per person than the slave but fewer rooms than the planter. Otto found that the overseer had more living space per person than the planter, but felt this was entirely dependent on the make-up of the families. Overseers were often single and this would affect the calculations. In actuality, Otto felt that the overseer's house at Cannon's Point was much better than others outside of coastal Georgia. Otto hypothesized that this was due in part to the fact that the coastal plantations were more permanent than inland plantations.

There were two types of slave cabins excavated. The northern cabins were single family units, while the southern group consisted of duplex cabins. The individual units were of similar size, the northern being 17 X 20 feet (5.2 X 6 meters), and the southern 20 X 20 feet (6.2 X 6.2 meters). They were of frame construction and probably had wooden floors. Both sets of cabins had tabby and brick chimneys. These features describe cabins superior to most others outside of the coastal south. The average cabin size in the plantation south was less than 16 X 18 feet (4.9 X 5.5 meters) (Fogel and Engerman 1974:115-116). Instead of brick chimneys, they often had mud and stick ones (Fogel and Engerman 1974:115-116).

This propensity for better housing not only for slaves, but for overseer and planter as well, may be because this was one of the richest plantation areas in the south. The crops were very specialized and often demanded high prices. An elite plantation system developed. There was also the presence of a very cheap building material, tabby. Tabby is a mixture of equal parts of shell, quicklime, sand, and water (Gritzner 1978:9). The shell was readily available on the coast in the form of prehistoric shell middens. This allowed the construction of rather permanent, solid buildings.

At Cannon's Point, there was an average of 5.4 slaves per dwelling unit, somewhat more than the figure of 5.2 slaves per unit in the south as a whole. Otto felt that this may indicate overcrowding in the cabins but was not certain.

Otto found also that ceramics were indicative of site status. In particular, ceramic decorative type and ceramic form were found to be diagnostic on planter, overseer, and slave sites. On slave sites it was found that annular wares were more prevalent than on planter sites while planter refuse had large amounts of transfer printed ceramics which were not abundant in overseer or slave sites. The overseer site tended to be more like the slave site than the planter. There were also large amounts of undecorated ceramics on the slave and

overseer sites which were not present on the planter site. Interestingly, porcelain was not found to be diagnostic on any of the sites.

It was found that occasionally slaves and overseers were getting discarded ceramics from the planter. This practice was discovered by comparing ceramic patterns which occurred on all three sites. Several patterns were repeated in minor quantities on the slave and overseer sites which occurred primarily in the planter refuse. Otto felt that the planter was purchasing ceramics in sets while the more heterogeneous ceramic assemblage at the slave and overseer sites indicated that they were purchasing pieces individually or in small sets.

In addition to ceramic type, ceramic form was also found to be correlated with site status. There was a prevalence of bowls at slave and overseer sites, while flatware was more common at the planter site. The planter was also found to have a greater diversity of ceramic forms, including table, tea, storage, and chamber wares. Slave and overseer were found to have primarily tablewares.

The final area that Otto found to be indicative of site status was dietary remains. From the information available at that time, it was hypothesized that planter sites would have a higher proportion of non-domestic animals in the diet when compared to slave and overseer sites. Otto found that in the planter's refuse there

was much more fish and wild game. He reasoned that this was possible because the planter was using slave labor to obtain this part of his diet. The slaves had little time to hunt or fish for themselves. The slave diet showed a high proportion of domesticants, particularly pig and cow. These were provided in the form of rations from the planter. There was the presence of a quantity of wild food which Otto attributed to procurement methods which required little supervision such as traps, snares, and trot lines.

Since Otto's work there has been devised an accurate method which transforms bone weight to edible meat (Wing and Brown 1979:127). This was applied to Otto's data and the results will be discussed more fully later in this thesis.

Otto also hypothesized that the prevalence of bowls at the slave site was related to dietary patterns. He found that the slave was getting the poor cuts of meat while the planter was getting good cuts such as roasts. The poor cuts (i.e head, feet) were used in stews to make them more palatable and go further. It was also found that the bones were being cleaved open and added to the stew for marrow extraction. The prevalence of hollowares would seem to be related to this diet.

Otto's work at Cannon's Point was a milestone in plantation archeology. It was the first comparison of

the material living conditions within the "peculiar institution". It was a different viewpoint from the historical accounts and provided information not previously available on the day-to-day life on the plantation. Perhaps its major contribution is as a reference for other studies. It was the first large scale attempt at doing archeology in a systematic way on a plantation and created more questions than it answered.

#### Butler Island

At about the same time that field work began on the St. Simon's plantations, work also began on one of the "sister" plantations of the study. Butler Island and Hampton plantation were part of the same estate belonging to the Butler family. Butler Island grew primarily rice while Hampton was invested in the production of sea island long staple cotton. Located near the mouth of the Altamaha River, Butler Island was a river delta island, connected more to the mainland than the barrier islands. Beginning about 1820, Butler Island became the major focus of the Butler estate planting interests as it was about at this time that rice became more profitable than the long staple cotton (Flanders 1933). The majority of the prime slave force was moved to Butler Island and most of the plantation improvements were made there rather than at Hampton. The St. Simon's

plantation was, however, still the main residence for the estate manager and the Butler family. The barrier islands were considered much more healthy than the river delta. In was, in fact, where the ill slaves from Butler Island were sent to recuperate.

The work at Butler Island was designed for two objectives: 1) to learn more about the slave community plan, and 2) to compare slave life on a rice plantation to life on the barrier island cotton plantations (Singleton 1980: 17). Theresa Singleton, who conducted this work, felt that part of the material culture would reflect some differences contingent upon the economic focus of the plantations. But she felt as well, that the broad patterns would be the same because of the coastal setting. Specific hypotheses were posited to test these ideas (Singleton 1980:18-19).

The detailed documentary background of Butler Island will not be discussed at this point as it will be reviewed later. As already mentioned, it was part of the large Butler estate, and was purchased about 1790. It was not the major economic focus of the estate until about 1820 for reasons already discussed. Both cotton and rice cultivation were labor intensive and required a large work force. At its height, there were 919 slaves employed on the estate, divided between Butler Island and Hampton. The majority were concentrated on Butler Island, and the

site density reflects this. There were four slave settlements, a main complex, where more of the machinery was located, an overseer's house, and a cemetery. While Butler Island slaves were primarily engaged in the production of rice, they also processed sugar and cotton. The slave settlements were located strategically in relation to the agricultural fields and water courses. Singleton notes that they were probably rather autonomous units with infrequent mingling or visiting of the main complex. Each settlement had its own processing facility, either rice, sugar, or cotton.

Excavations were conducted at settlement 4, the farthest from the main complex and least disturbed of the sites. There was evidence of five duplex cabins, and two technical structures believed to be a rice barn and threshing floor. There were no wells because, according to the documents, slaves were using water straight from the river. There was a possible privy located near the canal. The canal also proved to be the refuse dumping area used by the site's inhabitants. No other trash disposal areas were located during the excavations.

Testing was carried out on three of the duplex cabins. One was excavated fairly completely, while the other two had only limited testing completed. The cabins appeared to be of frame construction with a raised wooden floor.



The chimney was H-shaped and centrally located to open to both sides of the duplex. Most of the bricks used in the construction of this feature were tabby, with clay bricks being used primarily around the hearth. A fragment of wood recovered indicated that the structures may have been made of cypress, a very durable building material and abundant in the river delta. Excavations indicated that the cabins may have been larger than usual, approximately 24 X 48 feet (7.4 X 14.8 meters). From documentary sources, it was estimated that there were 5.4 occupants per dwelling unit. This is comparable to most estates in the south (Fogel and Engerman 1974:115).

At Butler Island the ceramics seemed to follow much the same pattern as at Cannon's Point. There was a predominance of bowl forms. The decorative types showed a high proportion of annular wares and low amounts of transfer printed ceramics.

The recovered faunal material was very poorly preserved at Butler Island, but seemed to indicate a pattern of use similar to Cannon's Point. Biomass was not calculated for the Butler Island material. The pattern of non-domestic animal use indicated a high reliance on animals specific to the delta area, particularly fish and turtle.

By using the data from Butler Island, Kingsley, and Cannon's Point, a slave artifact pattern was

proposed. The major components of this pattern were architectural and kitchen artifacts. The other categories of furniture, personal possessions, firearms, tobacco and clothing were very scarcely represented. The pattern will be discussed in detail later in this thesis.

It was found from the excavations that some features of the site may be a specific adaptation to the river delta/marsh habitat. In general, the community pattern seemed to be like other tidewater plantations (Singleton 1980:220). As for the slave housing, Singleton found little difference between the housing at Butler Island and other slave housing within the tidewater system, including both cotton and rice estates. While there were some specific differences in the artifacts recovered at the rice plantation when compared to cotton estates, the overall pattern seemed to be much the same. The similarity seems to be primarily due to the fact that the plantations occupied a very similar environmental niche.

#### Other Sites

In the interest of completeness, several other plantation sites will be briefly discussed in this section.

In 1978, excavations were conducted on a plantation outbuilding site at King's Bay, Georgia as part of a larger mitigation project (Johnson 1978). (Recently additional work has been completed on other plantation

sites in the King's Bay locale (Braley n.d.).) The King plantation was established about 1790 and operated until about 1840.

At the outbuilding site, no evidence of structures was apparent, but based on the recovered material remains, it was believed that the site was probably of lower status, either overseer or slave. The Cannon's Point material was used as comparative material. The faunal data recovered indicated a heavy reliance on domestic species (Reitz 1978), in a pattern similar to Otto's findings.

Also within the coastal Georgia region, the LeConte-Woodmanston plantation was partially excavated in 1979 (Hamilton 1980). It was in operation from about 1800 to 1850. Like Butler Island, this was a rice plantation but instead of using tidal flow, Woodmanston operated with gravity flow, being farther up-river. The site proved to be heavily disturbed, but remains of two structures were located. One was believed to be a domestic slave house. Only a robbed brick wall remained of the second, so its function could not be determined. Since most of the excavations were conducted within the main complex area, it was not surprising that the recovered ceramics were indicative of a high status occupation. The faunal material was too fragmentary to be diagnostic.

Recently work has also been taking place in South Carolina. At the Spiers Landing site, John Otto's data was used to assess the status of an undocumented site (Drucker and Anthony 1979). The evidence indicated a low status, probably slave, structure. The artifacts were also compared to South's Carolina Artifact pattern (South 1977:107). Significant differences were found in the clothing, activities, and kitchen groups. Faunal remains indicated a slave assemblage similar to Cannon's Point.

Two French Huguenot plantations in South Carolina have been recently excavated. At the Vaughan and Curriboo plantations it was found that the slaves were experiencing very sparse material living conditions (Garrow 1981; Wheaton 1981). At these sites a large proportion of the ceramics being used were colonowares. Recently it has been suggested that rather than being of Indian origin as previously thought, these artifacts might have been of slave manufacture (Ferguson 1980:15). Such seems to be the case at these two sites. By comparing the artifacts from these sites to the Carolina Artifact pattern, a Carolina Slave Artifact pattern was tentatively put forward (Garrow 1981). Differences were evident in almost every category. South included colonowares in the activities group, while Garrow felt these should be placed in the kitchen class. The re-arrangement seems to be the major cause of the disagreement.

TABLE 4  
KINGSLEY CERAMIC DATA

Date Range	Median Date	Ceramic Type	Quantity
1780-1830	1805	blue and green edged pearlware	26
1795-1815	1805	underglazed polychrome pearlware	34
1790-1820	1805	annular pearlware	37
1820-1900+	1860	brown stoneware bottles	71
1813-1900	1857	ironstone china	217

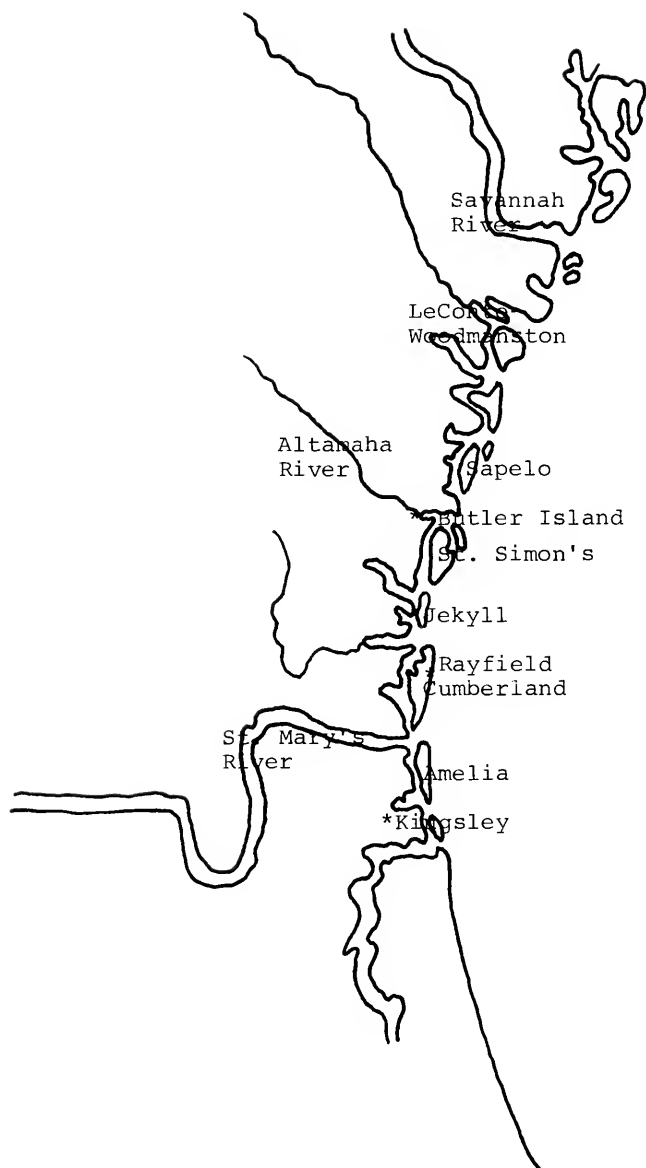


FIGURE 2  
GEORGIA AND FLORIDA PLANTATION SITES

### CHAPTER 3 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Asao, as the Guale Indians called the island of St. Simon's, had been occupied for some 4000 years when Spaniards first arrived in the early decades of the sixteenth century. Soldiers and priests established at least one mission there, Santo Domingo, perhaps as early as 1604 (Floyd 1937:14). Unfriendly pressure from Carolinians forced the Indians to leave, with final withdrawal in 1702 when the Guale sought protection by Spanish forts at St. Augustine and were incorporated into Spanish affairs.

Britain, gradually pushing southward towards warmer lands, had carried out an almost measured penetration of territories one controlled by Spaniards. In 1733, Georgia was founded and General Oglethorpe came to St. Simon's with colonists to establish the fortified settlement of Frederica in 1736. This overt threat could not be lightly tolerated by the Spanish governor, but diplomatic protests were unsuccessful in displacing the Georgians. The Spaniards then made one military attempt at piercing this southern outpost in 1742, but were soundly defeated in the Battle of Bloody Marsh. This

effectively removed the Spaniards as contenders in the southeastern coastal colonization north of present Florida.

The British colony was largely dependent on the garrison as a source of income. Upon the garrison's removal in 1749, the colonists gradually disbanded and settled on the mainland or elsewhere on the island (Cate 1956:204; Vanstory 1970:110). During most of the Revolutionary War the island was almost uninhabited (Vanstory 1970:111) as most of the residents, being patriots, fled to Florida.

After the war and return of the settlers, St. Simon's entered the plantation era. It was well suited for the cultivation of sea island long staple cotton, and many fortunes were made (and lost) on this crop. Many of the new planters came from South Carolina where the decline in soil fertility had forced them to seek new lands (Flanders 1933). These planters often grew not only cotton, but rice as well, the cultivation of which had long been established in South Carolina. They brought with them the knowledge of plantation management, and until the decline of cotton prices about 1855, St. Simon's prospered. After this recession, life on the island was much harder. The Civil War accelerated this decline.



### The Barrier Island Cotton Plantation

Sea island cotton became available to planters in 1786 (Flanders 1933) and was quickly adopted by growers along the rice coast. This area had been primarily concerned with indigo and rice as staple crops, but with the American Revolution, the bounty paid by the British on indigo was discontinued. Rice had declined in profit (temporarily) and therefore there was the need for a new crop. Sea island cotton opened up new areas of the coast where rice could not be grown, particularly the barrier islands.

Thomas Spalding is generally credited with the introduction of the long staple cotton to the southern coastal region (Flanders 1933). At first the planting method used yielded small crops as the plants were placed too far apart. A planter from the Bahamas, in 1794, advised planting much closer. When this was done on the Georgia plantations the yield increased from 100 pounds per acre to as much as 340 pounds per acre. The pace of planting greatly increased after this (Flanders 1933). Average yield was much less than 340 pounds per acre, usually about 150 pounds per acre (Flanders 1933).

The cultivation of long staple cotton was labor intensive with each hand processing 3-4 acres using a hoe and 6-7 acres using a plow (Gray 1941:737). The soil

was usually prepared in February or March, and the seed sown in late March or April. Once they had sprouted, the plants had to be thinned and weeded. This often had to be done by hand. After being topped to limit upward growth, harvesting of the cotton was begun in August and required 10-12 pickings (Gray 1941:735). In November processing began, the seeds being removed by roller gins (Flanders 1933). Approximately 600 pounds per day could be cleaned by the human, animal, or steam powered machines. After the seeds had been carefully removed, the cotton was hand packed, as a press damaged the fine cotton.

Prices for long staple cotton averaged about \$.50 per pound during good price periods and around \$.20 per pound during periods of price depression (Gray 1941:737). These periods of depressed prices were: 1806-1815, 1826-1834, and 1840-1850. During the whole of this time, it is estimated that it cost about \$75 to produce one 350 pound bag of sea island cotton (Gray 1941:736-737). During the periods of low prices, this would mean considerable losses even with good crops.

Sea island cotton brought much higher prices than short staple cotton, grown in the interior, because its fibers were much finer and longer and were therefore used in lace and very fine cloth (Eaton 1961:25-26).

Most of the planters who cultivated cotton encountered the problem of decreased soil fertility. On the coast, this was often solved by the use of marsh mud and crushed shell to fertilize the fields. We know that Pierce Butler, on St. Simon's, was using both marsh mud and manure (King 1824). The use of fertilizer and the concomitant maintenance of soil fertility allowed the coastal planters to be more permanently settled than inland cotton planters, who often had to purchase new lands and move their estates once their soils were exhausted. It has been suggested that this permanency on the coast was reflected in the more substantial buildings of these plantations (Otto 1975:104). The better buildings were available not only for the planter, but often for the slaves as well (Flanders 1933).

Planters along the coast employed the task system in the production of both rice and cotton. This was dictated, for rice, by the small diked rice polders, and was applied to cotton and sugarcane fields as well. The necessity for large amounts of hand labor in the cultivation of these crops was also a factor in the use of the task system (Flanders 1933). The task system was well suited to a crop which had few acres per hand and needed careful maintenance. The tasks could be adapted to meet the physical abilities of individual slaves. Young children

and the aged could be put to work on the less physically demanding jobs. Hands were classified as full,  $3/4$ ,  $1/2$ , or  $1/4$ . Full hands were required to work about  $1/4$  acre per day. Unlike the gang system, which made the slave work from sunrise to sunset, the task system allowed the slave free time if the tasks were completed soon enough. Once their task was done, the rest of the time was their own (Flanders 1933). Fanny Kemble noted that often the slaves on the Butler estate were finished with their work by 3:00 in the afternoon (Kemble 1961). Free time could then be used for food procurement and other personal activities. It has been pointed out that one of the chief advantages of the task system was that it allowed the planter or overseer to delegate many of the routine duties to black slave drivers (Scarborough 1966:57).

The cotton from these plantations was generally marketed by the planter's factor. This person (or firm) was responsible for getting the crop to market and trying to receive the best prices for it. Most of the factors for the coastal planters operated out of Charleston and Savannah. They were not only an agent to sell the cotton, but also acted as the planter's banker. They lent money, gave credit, paid bills, and usually bought supplies for the plantation (Woodman 1968). The standard commission for one of these merchants was usually 2.5%, with the exception of loans which were 8% (Woodman 1968). Acting

as his banker, the factor often acquired liens on the planter's property and could therefore virtually control the planter's business. The planter had no redress unless the factor was grossly negligent or fraudulent.

The typical coastal plantation generally contained 900-1000 acres of land (Prunty 1955:461), with approximately 60-100 slaves. The settlement pattern consisted of an owner's or manager's house situated near a cluster of administration buildings and slave quarters. The slave cabins were generally in rows forming a rectangle (Prunty 1955:465). The service buildings included tool sheds, storage sheds for plantation food supplies, an office, a stock barn, a blacksmith shop, and a cotton gin. These support structures were situated not only close to the main house, but approximately central to the cropland and labor quarters (Prunty 1955:466).

On the coast, these buildings were often constructed of tabby. The slave cabins usually had tabby and red brick chimneys. As at Cannon's Point and Hampton plantations, the more remote slave settlements often had an overseer's residence. This allowed the supervision to be more evenly distributed on the plantation.

Because these plantations needed so much labor, the coastal area became a very dense slave-holding region (Flanders 1933). Slaves far outnumbered white inhabitants

in the area and there was a high degree of absenteeism among the plantation owners. Pierce Butler was an example of such an owner. The environmental limitations (primarily soil conditions) on the growth of sea island cotton created an elite system of plantations along the coast. The high prices paid for the coastal staples made for a wealthy group of planters, much wealthier than inland producers. This in turn created special, and perhaps, improved conditions for those living on the coast.

#### Comparison to Other Plantation Systems

Of the different plantation systems (rice, long staple cotton, short staple cotton, sugar, hemp, and tobacco), rice, long staple cotton, and sugar were, by far, the most elite and richest. Hemp and tobacco were grown largely in Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee and did not lead to large plantation enterprises (Eaton 1961:177-195). It is interesting to note that hemp, like rice and sea island cotton, was also produced using the task labor system (Eaton 1961:190). While there is no statistical account, it seems that very few of the hemp or tobacco estates were larger than 1000 acres or had more than 100 slaves.

Short staple cotton plantations dominated the south, extending north to Virginia and Kentucky. The vast majority of these holdings were small, with less than

50 slaves and only a few hundred acres (Eaton 1961:30). In 1850, only 175 out of Georgia's 38,456 slaveholders owned more than 100 slaves; only 28 held more than 200. In 1860, 212 owners out of 41,084 had more than 100 (Scarborough 1966). These statistics included the coastal rice and cotton areas which probably accounted for most of these large holdings.

In Louisiana, statistics are available on the large plantations in three cotton growing regions (Table 5). The largest of these was a plantation with 659 slaves and produced a crop of 3800 bales (400 lbs. per bale) of short staple cotton.

Along with rice and sea island cotton, sugar plantations were among the largest and richest plantations. Some were located along the Atlantic coast, but the majority became concentrated in the Louisiana low country. The capital investment for a sugar plantation was greater than that for any other type (Eaton 1961:134). Because of this and because of restricted geographical extent, there were only 1500 sugar plantations in the south. A profile of the large estates is given in Table 5.

Both the sugar and upland (short staple) cotton employed the gang system of labor. The field hands were divided into "gangs" and worked at a specific pace by the overseer or driver. All slaves had to continue their labor until dismissed from the field, usually at

sundown (Stamp 1956:54). This allowed the slaves little free time. Without the necessity for the hand labor (as on the coastal rice and cotton estates), this was a more advantageous system for the planter.

Rice plantations were located primarily along the coast of Georgia and South Carolina. They were the richest of the south's plantations (Flanders 1933). Like sugar and long staple cotton, this was primarily due to the limited extent of suitable land. As previously mentioned, it was very labor intensive, and required irrigation, necessitating the task system of labor.

Along the coast on both rice and cotton plantations, many of the planters were absentee owners, spending most of their time in a nearby city (Flanders 1933). It was felt that the swamp airs were unhealthy. The Butler family, owners of Hampton plantation, visited the estate infrequently and instead chose to reside in Philadelphia.

#### Pike's Bluff

In 1736, James Oglethorpe constructed several outposts on St. Simon's. One was at Hampton Point, one on the south end of the island, and one just north of Fort Frederica. The latter sentry station was put in the charge of Richard Pike; thus the area came to be known as Pike's Bluff (Vanstory 1970:158). The remains of an earthen



embankment and moat attest to its tenure as a military site both for the British and later, during the Civil War (Heard 1938).

Following the Revolutionary War, the area was granted to General Lachlan McIntosh (Glynn County Superior Court n.d.). There is no evidence that the land was used during his ownership. In the early 1800s, it was purchased by Edmund Matthews, the rector of Christ Church (Lewis 1974; Vanstory 1970). The evidence suggests that while Reverend Matthews may not have actually lived on the land, he was using it as a plantation. The 1820 Census indicated that he owned 16 slaves, most of them of the age to be full hands (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1820). In 1823, he owned 27 slaves including four house servants, and one mechanic (Hazzard 1974:15). He had 78 acres of cotton planted, 16 acres of corn, six acres of potatoes and five acres of peas (Hazzard 1974:15). All of this certainly suggests that the Pike's Bluff land was being used, but archeologically there is little evidence of occupation during this time.

Reverend Matthews died in 1827. No probate inventory could be located, but in that same year the land was sold to Thomas F. Hazzard and William Wigg Hazzard (Glynn County Superior Court 1827). The Hazzards had come to St. Simon's from South Carolina some time before 1818,

for in that year William W. Hazzard purchased West Point plantation adjoining Pike's Bluff to the south (Vanstory 1970:158). William was a successful planter. In 1820, he owned 64 slaves (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1820), and had 107 acres of land planted, mostly in cotton (Hazzard 1974:15) (Table 6). In 1825, he was commissioned to write a history of Glynn County. This work included statistics on the plantations on the island (Hazzard 1974:15). Thomas Fuller Hazzard was a physician and took up residence on Pike's Bluff plantation after it was purchased.

In 1830, the census records for Thomas and William Hazzard were combined (Table 6) (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1830). At the time neither was married and together they owned 74 slaves. How many of these were actually working on Pike's Bluff plantation is not known. It seems likely that they two plantations had not yet separated. Both men married before 1840 and this is probably when Thomas took over the separate management of Pike's Bluff plantation. In 1838, Thomas Hazzard had a serious quarrel with John A. Wylly over the border between Pike's Bluff and the Village plantation. Hazzard later shot and killed Wylly (Brunswick Advocate 1838). He was subsequently acquitted of manslaughter (Scott in Kemble 1961:lvii).

In 1840, William Hazzard owned 69 slaves while Thomas owned 38 (Table 5) (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1840).

Probably only 28 of Thomas Hazzard's slaves could be classified as field hands, and not all of those were full hands. Those under 10 or over 55 probably provided no field work.

By 1850, William Hazzard had an estate valued at \$20,000 and had 78 slaves. Thomas' estate was worth only \$4000 and at this point he had only 33 slaves (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850). He and his wife Sarah had four children. It is not known if the decline in number of slaves represented a decline in the plantation's fortunes.

Thomas Hazzard's first wife died and in 1856 he was married to Margaret Brockington (Glynn County Superior Court 1856). In 1857, Thomas died and William was appointed administrator of the estate (Glynn County Probate Court 1857). A probate inventory indicates that at this point, the estate owned 31 slaves worth \$17,750 and other tangibles worth about \$2300 (Table 7). No real estate inventory was given, but 1000 acres of land valued at \$1500 was listed (Glynn County Probate Court 1857). While his estate value had increased since 1850, the number of slaves had actually declined. Part of the reason for the increased worth was undoubtedly due to an increase in the price being paid for slaves (Fogel and Engerman 1974). He may have also increased his land holdings, since the original Pike's Bluff purchase was only 300-400 acres (Glynn County Superior Court 1827).

In 1860, William Hazzard had an estate worth \$41,000 and his dependents included at least one of Thomas' children (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1860). At this point he owned 54 slaves. Also listed with William is a "Peg" Hazzard, probably Thomas' wife Margaret. She has a separate listing for 33 slaves but no estate value is given.

Both plantations were abandoned with the Civil War and Pike's Bluff was not re-occupied. An attempt was made to begin operations again at West Point, but it was given up shortly (Vanstory 1970:159).

As can be seen, there is a paucity of documentary evidence on Pike's Bluff plantation. Most of the information comes from census records. These provide no information about the operations and day-to-day life on the plantation. In this case the archeology proved to be a much better record.

### Sinclair

One of the few successful plantations on St. Simon's during the colonial period was Sinclair or St. Clair (a later corruption of the name). Granted to Archibald Sinclair it is mentioned as being prosperous in 1745 (Vanstory 1970:155). By 1755, it seems to have been abandoned as it was not listed on the Entry of Claims (Vanstory 1970:155).

In July of 1768, the Sinclair tract was granted to Donald Forbes, who sold it to Lachlan McIntosh in December of the same year (Glynn County Superior Court 1768;

Fortson 1972:28). As a hero of the Revolutionary War, General Lachlan McIntosh received large grants of land on St. Simon's and on the mainland. In one of his letters, he instructs his son John on the management of his Georgia lands and on how to start the plantations:

My wish and intention if practicable would be to get young able and healthy slaves from the ages of sixteen to at twenty five years, as soon a date as possible sufficient to staff completely five or six rice plantations upon the River Altamaha, each plantation to have about fifty working hands, including one or two coopers, handy jobbing carpenter, sawyers and a trusted river for each and if that cannot be accomplished, a less number must do.

To give you in the quantity in case such articles are imported on my own account it will be necessary to inform you that every slave will require a good felling ax, and a broad hoe and a socket spade and five yds of good white plains for each old or young and some of these articles over and above to spare in case of accident. Nails of all sorts and strong locks for barns and c. - some carpenter and coopers tools, froes, drawing knives, crosscut and whip saw files c. (which may be lent from one plantation to the other) - yet if all these are imported, some money will be necessary here notwithstanding, before crops can be made. (McIntosh 1783)

It is assumed that his plantation on St. Simon's was similarly equipped. Sinclair was left to the management of the General's son, William. Several letters between the two seem to indicate that approximately 12 slaves were employed on the estate (Hawes 1956). Other information about the plantation is not known.

William died in 1799 and was buried on the grounds of Sinclair, as were his two children who had died earlier.

His widow was given a life estate and remained on the plantation with eight slaves (Glynn County Superior Court 1800). At her death, everything was to revert to Lachlan McIntosh.

At this point, the land ownership becomes very confusing. It is not known how long Martha McIntosh remained on the plantation. She did remarry and evidently tried to sell the Sinclair property but was not able to since she did not actually own it (Glynn County Superior Court 1809). In fact the land had been sold by the estate of Lachlan McIntosh in 1806 to Pierce Butler (Glynn County Superior Court 1807). The deed stipulated that Martha McIntosh Snead would retain her life estate.

In 1810, Pierce Butler sold most of the Sinclair lands to Alexander C. Wylly (Glynn County Superior Court 1810). Wylly lived there in the main house for two years before moving to a house farther south on the property (Houston-Wylly Papers 1827). Susan Wylly (a daughter of Alexander) was born there in 1811 (Wylly n.d.). In 1812, Wylly either sold or mortgaged the land back to Pierce Butler because, being a British loyalist, he was now a prisoner of war and anticipating some financial difficulties (King 1812). Wylly had also incurred severe debts to others on St. Simon's (Glynn County Superior Court 1809b).

For the next ten years there was a constant struggle between Wylly and Butler over the titles to the land. Wylly may have still been using the land and Butler was continually trying to foreclose on the mortgage (King 1816, 1822, 1824). Butler wished to keep 100 acres and sell the balance and had numerous offers, but because of the title fight could not sell. It remained in the Butler family until 1893 (Wister Papers 1893).

From the documents, the major period of occupation for the plantation appears to have been 1790-1820. William McIntosh probably built the main house, whose ruins still remain, and lived there until 1799. After his death, his widow may have stayed on in the house. There is no definite information about this. In 1810, Alexander Wylly moved into the house described as a "big rambling bungalow" (Houston-Wylly Papers 1827). His family probably moved to another house farther south (about one mile), which became known as the Village, about 1812.

The Georgia Census records of 1790, 1800, and 1810 were destroyed during the War of 1812, so there is little information about the size of either McIntosh's or Wylly's plantation holdings. As mentioned earlier, McIntosh may have had about 12 slaves being used at Sinclair, but according to the McIntosh letter previously quoted,

could have had as many as 50 (McIntosh 1783). Later census data on Wylly may be somewhat indicative of the size of his Sinclair estate. In 1820, there were ten white inhabitants and 32 slaves living at the Village plantation (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1820) (Table 8). In 1823, he had 27 slaves and 91 acres in cultivation (Hazzard 1974). By 1830, his estate had increased to 46 slaves.

These figures seem to indicate that the size of the estate may have increased somewhat from McIntosh to Wylly, the main period of occupation of the plantation. Pierce Butler, while cultivating about 100 acres of land, never used the main house nor had any slave settlement there (King 1824). Butler apparently may have rented out the main house (King 1827), but not for long periods of time. It is said that the Agriculture and Sporting Club used the house as a meeting place (Lewis 1974; Vanstory 1970:156), but no corroboration of this could be found in the Butler documents. In 1835, disease struck the slaves on Butler Island and Roswell King (Butler's overseer) discussed moving about 50 of them into "the old Sinclair house" (King 1835). In 1839, when Fanny Kemble visited the estate, she visited Sinclair and mentions that Major Butler had had both a house and negro settlement there (Kemble 1961:246). Butler had almost certainly not had a slave settlement there. It would have



been listed in the documents. It is possible that she saw the ruins that date to McIntosh's or Wyly's period of ownership. Fanny also noted that the main house was in ruins (Kemble 1961:247). Supposedly, the remains burned in 1857 (Vanstory 1970:156). As previously mentioned, the land remained in the Butler family until 1893 (Wister Papers 1893).

### Butler Estate

#### Family History

Pierce Butler came to the United States a major in the English army in 1766. He was the son of Sir Richard Butler and Henrietta Percy and was related to the House of Orange. In 1771, he married Polly Middleton, a South Carolina heiress and settled in Charleston. He supported the revolutionary cause, was later a delegate to the Constitutional Convention from South Carolina and elected for several terms as senator from the state. In 1793, he moved a large contingent of slaves from South Carolina to Georgia and began his coastal planting interests. He resided only periodically on the Georgia plantations, having his permanent residence in Philadelphia (Scott in Kemble 1961).

Major Butler's wife died in 1790 leaving him with one son and three daughters. His son Thomas married a French woman and for this reason was ostracized and

almost disinherited. Sarah Butler, one of the daughters, married Dr. James Mease and had three sons who survived infancy. Major Butler's other two daughters were Frances and Ann Eliza, twins who never married. Upon Major Butler's death in 1822, the twins were given the income and use of the estate until their death at which time most went to Sarah's sons, Thomas, Butler, and John. A clause in the will, however, stipulated that each of the grandsons must take the surname of Butler in order to inherit. Thomas died in 1823 and so did not live to inherit. Butler Mease became Pierce Butler in 1826, and John Mease became John Butler in 1836. Pierce and John received sole possession of the estate in 1836 when Frances Butler died. Both had, in the meantime, married, John to Gabriella Morris and Pierce to the famous British Shakespearean actress Fanny Kemble (Butler Papers; Scott in Kemble 1961).

Fanny and Pierce had met in Philadelphia, where Pierce resided. When they married, she knew nothing of his vast southern estate. Being a vehement abolitionist, she was mortified when she learned. Fanny's journal of their visit to the Georgia estate in the winter of 1838-39 provides one of the primary documents on the plantation. She describes a horrifying picture of inhumanity and the degrading conditions of slavery. The book was published in England during the Civil

War in order to try and sway sentiment towards the north. While Fanny portrays an accurate picture in some respects, she tends to exaggerate and, in some cases, incorrectly identified some situations. The information has to be evaluated within the perspective in which she viewed it.

Pierce and Fanny had two daughters, Sarah and Frances. The situation between Pierce and Fanny grew continually worse after their visit south and finally in 1848, they were divorced. Pierce retained custody of the children and Fanny returned to England (Butler Papers; Scott in Kemble 1961).

Also in 1848, John Butler died in the Mexican War, leaving his wife Gabriella as administrator of his estate. They had one child, Elizabeth, who was to inherit John's share of the estate after her mother's death. Elizabeth had one child, but both the child and Elizabeth died before inheriting. This left the bulk of the estate to Pierce and his heirs, after the death of Gabriella (Butler Papers).

During the 1850's, Pierce began to undergo severe financial reverses. In order to repay money to Gabriella Butler, he was forced to sell his half of the slaves (459 out of 919 total) in 1859, but he did retain half of the real estate (Butler Papers).

After the Civil War, Pierce returned south with his daughter Frances. Sarah had married Dr. Owen Wister

and continued to reside in Philadelphia. Pierce and Frances tried to work the Georgia property on a sharecropping basis, but had only limited success. Pierce died in 1867 at Butler Island. Frances continued to manage the estate. In 1871, she married the Reverend James Leigh in England, where she remained for a short period of time. In 1873, the Leighs returned to Georgia and remained until at least 1876. They made frequent visits to the estate even after they moved elsewhere. The property stayed in family hands into the 1900s (Butler Papers).

#### Property History

In 1758, Butler Point and the lands immediately south (approximately 1700 acres) were granted to Henry Ellis, then colonial governor of Georgia (Fortson 1972:23). It does not appear that Ellis ever occupied the land and at some point before 1774, sold it to James Graham. The property was bought by Pierce Butler in 1774 (Georgia Historical Society n.d.). In 1790, Butler sold the land to James and Judith Ladison of Charleston (Glynn County Superior Court 1790), who sold the land back to Butler the next year (Glynn County Superior Court 1791). The reason for this transfer is not apparent.

Butler moved 433 slaves from South Carolina to Georgia in 1793. Most of these seem to have been inherited through his wife (Butler Papers 1793). While he was never a permanent resident on the Georgia estate, Major Butler visited almost every winter until 1810

(King 1810). Beginning in 1809, Major Butler tried to sell his Georgia interests and continued these attempts until his death in 1822. It seem that there were no buyers who could meet his price (King 1810-1822).

In 1806, the Sinclair tract was added to the Butler holdings, although as previously mentioned there were disputes over the titles to this addition. This acquisition seems to have finalized the Butler estate on St. Simon's. Table 9 summarizes the property history.

Because of financial reverses, Pierce Butler (younger) was forced to sell his half of the slaves in 1859. This is reflected in Table 9. The documentary data do not always separate the Butler properties in Glynn County (St. Simon's) from that in McIntosh County (Butler Island). I have attempted to note this where possible. In 1894, most of the land on St. Simon's was sold by the family (Wister Papers 1894).

### Hampton Plantation

Main complex. In 1793, Major Pierce Butler began building his St. Simon's plantation. It was to become one of the largest in the south. The main complex of the estate was located on the north end of Hampton Point (or Butler Point), hence the name of the plantation. The nuclear plantation settlement included the main house with kitchen and storeroom, an overseer's residence with a separate kitchen, a smokehouse, poultry house, wash

house, cotton barn, corn house, horse mill, two storehouses, hospital, stable, and six duplex slave cabins (Wister Papers 1815). Detailed descriptions are given in Table 10. In 1813, the main house was partially destroyed (King 1813), and at this time at least two of the four half-circular rooms were added (King 1913b). A drawing of the house and the additions shows that the ground floor was divided into ten rooms, five listed as chambers, two parlors, a pantry, an entry and a piazza. It is not certain if there was a second floor. There were seven chimneys for the house, and the map is detailed enough to locate the windows and doors (King 1813b). Major Butler debated for some time about making the additions to his house as he was only an infrequent visitor to the plantation, but in 1814 he decided to go ahead (King 1814). It seems likely that the house stood for only another ten years, for in 1824, a great hurricane swept away a large portion of the bank at Hampton, supposedly taking the main house with it (Wylly n.d.; Cooney 1976:44).

When Fanny Kemble Butler visited in 1839, she noted that a great amount of the bank was eroded taking a whole orange grove with it (Kemble 1961:232). She misidentifies the overseer's house as being the old mansion (Kemble 1961:228). The ruins of this structure still remain. It is possible that after the planter's house was destroyed in 1824, the overseer's house was used by the Butler family during their sporadic visits.

Ruins still remain of the stable and what local tradition calls a sunken garden (Cooney 1976:43). This garden structure is more likely one of the other subsidiary buildings named in the 1815 inventory, probably one of the storehouses (Figure 5). The stable is almost certainly the one listed in the 1815 inventory as the dimensions are the same (Mullins 1978).

There are six additional structures located approximately 100 meters from the main complex. Four are of tabby construction and are evidently the remains of duplex slave cabins. Figures 3 and 4 show one of these cabins as it looked in 1939. They are of tabby construction with wooden floors. The fireplaces are of tabby brick except for the firebox which is red brick. The other two ruins are red brick. No function was apparent, but it is possible that at least one was the hospital which Fanny Kemble discusses in some detail (Kemble 1961:255). On both the 1869 U.S.G.S. map and the 1911 soil survey map of the county, six structures were shown in a row in this same area. There should have been six duplex cabins according to the 1815 inventory, so it is also possible that the brick structures were slave cabins built in a different fashion. This could not be determined from survey data (Mullins 1978).

In 1866, Frances Butler Leigh came to live on the plantation with her father, Pierce (Leigh 1957). Pierce

died in 1867, but Frances still continued to try to make a profitable planting venture. Frances lived in the overseer's house at Butler Point and described it as a "fair sized, comfortable building" (Leigh 1957). Frances gave up the planting interests a short time later and in 1871, the house burned (Vanstory 1970:146).

Overseer's house. In 1839, when Fanny Kemble was visiting the Butler estate, a new overseer's house was being erected about one mile south of the main complex. She called both the building and the site "witness to an inveterate love of ugliness" (Kemble 1961:200). It seems that this location was picked because it was centrally located for the supervision of the slaves. At the time of the survey in 1978, the remains of two subsidiary structures were present as well as the standing chimney of the overseer's house (Fig. 6). Both the 1869 U.S.G.S. and 1911 soil survey maps show three structures, which would include the overseer's house (U.S.G.S. 1869; Long 1912). Whether there were other structures was not apparent from either the archeology or documents.

It seems likely that this was one of the plantation slave settlements. On the map in Fanny Kemble's journal this site is identified as Jones but after considerable documentary research, it was ascertained that this was most likely Busson Hill, while the site identified as Busson Hill on the map is Jones. The Butler papers never



mention Busson Hill, but Frances Butler Leigh describes a "hill house" which was probably the overseer's house under construction in 1839. It also seems likely that Busson is a corruption of "bosun" or "bossun", a slang term for the overseer. There is considerable mention of Jones in the Butler documents and its location could be determined accurately from a map drawn by Frances Butler Leigh (Wister Papers 1893).

Jones. The Jones settlement, located two miles from the main plantation complex, was constructed in 1801 (Patterson 1801). The 1815 estate inventory lists one cotton barn 60 X 40 feet, with two gins and seven other buildings (Wister Papers 1815). No information is given about the nature of these seven buildings. Jones remained an active slave settlement during the plantation's lifetime and was partially re-occupied during the post-bellum period (Butler Papers 1877). Additional information about this site will be discussed in Chapter 4.

St. Annie's. In 1824, Roswell King, Jr., decided to enlarge the planting acres at Hampton, particularly wishing to take in more marsh land which had proven to be very fertile. To do this, it would be necessary to build another slave settlement as the land he had in mind was too far from the existing settlements. By December of 1824, he had 50-60 acres ready to plant and was building

"temporary houses" (King 1824c). Trunks were built to control water flow in the marsh and a canal to the highland was constructed. Later a causeway to Jones (the nearest slave settlement) was built.

St. Annie's produced its first crop of cotton in 1825 (Butler Papers 1825). From 46 acres, 11 bales of cotton were produced, or 80 pounds per acre. While this is hardly the peak of production (good crops were over 200 pounds per acre), it was the best crop produced that year by any of the settlements. In 1826 and 1827, no crop is given for St. Annie's. No reason could be ascertained from the documents. In the years from 1828 to 1833, St. Annie's averaged 140.25 pounds per acre, in 1832 producing 265 pounds per acre, a remarkable figure. No production data is available after this point. In fact, very little information on St. Annie's exists in the documents after this time. In a letter of 1834, Roswell King, Jr. mentions that he has 25½ hands at St. Annie's, but we do not know the actual population since this number is based on working ability, not number of individuals.

The only other substantial mention of St. Annie's comes from the journal of Fanny Kemble. Of all the slave settlements she visited on the Butler estate, it was this one which horrified her the most. She describes riding over a causeway to get to it and finding there "the wretchedest huts, and the most miserably squalid, filthy and forlorn creatures I have yet seen" (Kemble 1961:227).

Most of the inhabitants she found were old or young, not prime field hands.

Evidently this slave settlement was declining in importance by this point, a decline being experienced by the whole of Hampton plantation as the main crop switched from cotton to rice. It is important to note that after visiting several of the neighboring plantation, Fanny notes that the cabins of St. Annie's, when compared to their neighbors, were really "palaces" (Kemble 1961:284). Evidently the Butler slaves enjoyed some "advantages".

No further mention of the settlement is made in the documents although it should be noted that the records after this point are much less detailed. On the 1869 U.S.G.S. coastal survey map, the Busson Hill and Jones Creek settlements are located, but no structures are noted for St. Annie's. The causeway from Jones to St. Annie's is present, but it stops, apparently at nothing. The rest of our information about this site comes from archeological survey data (Moore 1981:33).

After consulting the 1869 coastal survey map and knowing the current location of the Jones settlement, the survey team was able to plot where the St. Annie's settlement should be. It was subsequently located on the first try. Very little remains to indicate it was ever there, only one brick fall. Subsequent tests and

probing could find no other structures. It is possible that the bricks were robbed at some point. With the partial population figure of  $25\frac{1}{2}$  hands given in the documents, it is certain that there must have been more than one cabin, even if it was a duplex, as all the other slave cabins on the estate were. Such a figure of working hands, if comparable to the other settlements, would indicate a population of 35-40 total (Butler Papers 1821). If a figure of six slaves per dwelling unit is used, which is more than average (Fogel and Engerman 1974:115), then there should have been at least three duplexes. In addition to the dwellings, there would also have been support structures. One letter of King's states that there was a cattle-driven cotton gin at St. Annie's (King 1928) and a causeway which extends out into the marsh indicates that there must have been a processing/storing/loading facility at the site. There certainly were wells and possibly some sort of provision storage structure if it follows the same pattern as Jones.

The survey tests did not recover a large quantity of material. It is possible that the right areas were not tested, or that they may have been dumping their trash in the marsh. The ceramics recovered (only four sherds) are typical of early and middle nineteenth century wares. The only other artifacts of mention were a broad hoe and a horse collar (or hame) used as a harness for any draft animal. Perhaps it was used for the cattle powering the gin.

Very little else is known about St. Annie's. What we have is a picture of a remote slave settlement occupied from 1824 until at least 1839 and probably for some time thereafter. Fanny Kemble portrays a desolate, neglected group of very old or very young slaves. What it was like during its period of peak production is not clear. It probably was much like the Jones Creek settlement, its nearest neighbor.

#### Production and Management on the Butler Estate

The Butler estate, for most of its productive period, was under the management of the Roswell Kings, Sr., and Jr. Roswell King, Sr., was a surveyor from Connecticut (Lewis 1978). How he came to work for Major Butler is not clear but in 1802 he was hired as the plantation manager. He kept detailed records and wrote to Major Butler every two weeks; most of this correspondence survives. In 1816, King, Sr., decided to retire and wrote to Major Butler about the difficulty in finding a successor (King 1816b). Evidently King's son, Roswell, Jr., was decided upon. Roswell King, Sr., continued to supervise his son's handling of the affairs and occasionally corresponded with Butler (King 1824b).

Roswell King, Jr., managed the estate until 1838 when he decided to retire to pursue other business (Butler Papers 1837). He was evidently unhappy with the lack of attention by John and Pierce Butler (King 1837). When he retired his salary was \$2000 per year,

a quite considerable sum. He was also a slave holder with 44 slaves listed in the 1830 census (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1830).

After King left, there were evidently a number of problems in the management of the estate and in 1841 King was persuaded to return at a salary of \$2500 per year. In addition, separate overseers were hired for Hampton and Butler Island. Their salaries were to be \$550 per year (King 1841). This was more in line with what other overseers in the area were getting (Otto 1975: 46-47). King remained on the estate until 1854 when he retired for good. He noted that the slaves had been troublesome since the visit of Fanny and Pierce in 1838. He also indicated that the estate was losing money for the first time in its history (King 1854).

Alexander Blue, the overseer of Butler Island, took over from Roswell King, Jr., and managed the estate until 1860. Blue was both a land and slave owner (Glynn County Superior Court 1856; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1860). The overseer of Hampton was a Dr. Samuel B. Wilson, a physician from Philadelphia and friend of the Butlers (Blue 1848).

The Butler estate was evidently very profitable at least until 1854. For 14 years (from 1822-1835), profit figures of the estate are available (Butler Papers). These profits range from about \$10,000 to approximately \$50,000, certainly more than the average cotton planter.

These profits are given below:

1822	\$ 9,372.60
1823	20,252.51
1824	48,372.67
1825	28,629.67
1826	34,901.08
1827	36,801.16
1828	20,970.86
1829	29,287.00
1830	42,082.22
1831	25,829.23
1832	31,675.12
1833	23,688.53
1834	28,701.39
1835	24,862.50

Cotton production during these same years (1820-1833) ranged from 21 pounds per acre to 265 pounds per acre (Butler Papers).

In 1806, Major Butler made a cost breakdown for his estate:

cost of 10 negroes	\$ 3000
cost of land for this #	500
insurance on negroes lives	150
clothing for negroes	60
taxes on negroes	5
taxes on land	12
tools	5
overseer's wages	50
provisions	120
machinery and cattle to gin	<u>360</u>
Total	\$ 4262

He figured 25 acres of land in cotton (for these ten slaves) and 150 pounds per acre harvest at \$.30 per pound. This would yield a return of only \$1125, but the initial outlay on slaves and land would be paid off in several years and then there should be a large profit margin. Major Butler also noted that if more land were

added this would increase the profits. In 1819, Major Butler added a note saying that the price of negroes had increased by one-third, but land prices had remained the same.

All of this suggests that the Butlers were not simply uninvolved owners but shrewd businessmen (with the help of the Kings). Major Butler realized the need to diversify his planting interests and as cotton declined in profit, he was able to substitute sugar and rice production.

Major Butler came to St. Simon's with approximately 300 slaves. At the time of the division of the estate in 1859, there were 919. Most of this increase was natural. Table 11 lists the births, deaths and net increase in the slave population on the estate. Major Butler evidently did make some purchases since in 1803 he requested some gold or west coast slaves from his factor (Butler Papers 1803). At this point the importation of African slaves had not yet been banned. Later in that same year Roswell King, Sr., mentions that he has just brought a load of slaves to the plantation and that there are no slaves who can understand them (King 1803). There are no other records for the purchase of slaves, but Major Butler may have been buying them infrequently.

As has been mentioned, Hampton declined in importance with the decline of cotton prices. This can be seen in the number of slaves employed there. The Roswell Kings (both Sr. and Jr.) made several censuses which are reiterated in Table 12. As can be seen, in 1811 there



were 235 slaves at Hampton. By 1830 this number had increased only to 250 despite a natural increase on the whole estate of 183. As for full hands, there may have even been a decrease (the age categories are not comparable enough to tell for certain). In 1848, there were 279 slaves at Hampton, again only a slight increase. There is a marked absence of male full hands. Undoubtedly all of the prime male slaves had been moved to Butler Island.

The cost of maintaining this large slave force was moderate when compared to the profits. The most costly expenditure was the initial purchase which was approximately \$300 per slave in 1806 (Butler Papers 1806), rising to about \$800-900 per slave in 1850 (Fogel and Engerman 1974:76). Butler's estimate for food and clothing of the slaves in 1806 was \$18 per slave (Butler Papers 1806). In 1848 it was \$20 per slave (Butler Papers 1848). Evidently the cost of maintaining a slave did not rise with the cost of the slave. Butler's expenditures on maintenance were about average (Stamp 1956:406-407). In no case in the plantation south did maintenance costs rise above \$35 per slave (Stamp 1956). The variability in these costs was largely dependent on the degree of self-sufficiency of the plantation. Large plantations producing their own food and other necessities (the slaves on Butler's estate produced their own shoes) could cut maintenance costs considerably.

What all this points to is that the large plantation, whose slave force grew primarily by natural increase, would be a highly profitable business venture. The cost of maintenance would increase with an increase in number of slaves, but at a much slower rate than profits. This would allow the profits to be used for luxury items for the planter and perhaps for an increased standard of living for both overseer and slaves. Such a process should be reflected in the archeological record.

TABLE 5  
STATISTICS FOR LARGE\* PLANTATIONS IN LOUISIANA

	Sugar	Sugar/ Cotton	Miss. R. Cotton	Red R. Cotton	North-Cen. Cotton
# slaves	110	99	100	79	75
# improved acres	730	751	800	800	647
# unimproved acres	1,400	1,400	1,075	1,800	1,438
Land value - \$	100,000	52,709	100,000	42,391	52,538
Sugar production - hogsheads	290	286	---	---	---
Cotton ginned - 400 lb. bales	---	211	525	331	302
Corn production - bushels	17,383	4,814	3,702	4,066	3,923
Peas and beans - bushels	---	88	251	---	132
Value of farming tools - \$	14,521	8,603	4,692	1,132	1,414
# horses	10	14	10	7	8
# asses and mules	46	32	32	23	24
# milch cows	13	21	16	20	18
# working oxen	12	15	14	10	11
# sheep	44	57	33	37	39
# swine	41	89	77	120	130
# cattle	45	58	49	55	62
Value of livestock - \$	10,189	6,468	6,154	4,547	4,793

\* - Over 50 slaves. Statistics taken from Menn (1964).

TABLE 6  
PIKE'S BLUFF DOCUMENTARY DATA

Planter	Yrs. of Occupation	# White Inhab.	# Slaves	# Acres Cultiva.	Source
E. Matthews	ca. 1800- 1827	5	16	--	Vanstory 1970 U.S. Bureau of Census, 1820
"		--	27	105	Hazzard 1974
"		--	41	--	U.S. Bureau of Census 1830
Thomas F. Hazzard	1827- 1857	3	38	--	U.S. Bureau of Census 1840
		6	33	--	U.S. Bureau of Census 1850
William W. Hazzard <sup>a</sup>		5	64	--	U.S. Bureau of Census 1820
		--	27 <sup>b</sup>	107	Hazzard 1974
		11	69	--	U.S. Bureau of Census 1840
		8	78	--	U.S. Bureau of Census 1850
		10	54	--	U.S. Bureau of Census 1860
W. & T. Hazzard <sup>c</sup>		4	74	--	U.S. Bureau of Census 1830
"Peg" Hazzard <sup>d</sup>		--	33	--	U.S. Bureau of Census 1860

a - Since West Point and Pike's Bluff plantations are so interconnected, statistics are given for William as well as Thomas.

b - Only full hands probably are listed.

c - Statistics for both were combined on this census.

d - Probably Thomas' wife.

TABLE 7  
PROBATE INVENTORY - THOMAS F. HAZZARD

Recorded 20th August 1857

Appraisement of the property of Est. T.F. Hazzard

1000 acres of land valued at		\$1500
1. Will a negro man about 50 yrs. old valued at	250	
2. Prince " "	50	400
3. January " "	55	150
4. Meritamore " "	55	100
5. Abram " "	30	1000
6. Alfred " "	30	1000
7. Sam " "	28	1000
8. Ansel " "	18	1000
9. Cain " boy	14	850
10. Jack " "	10	600
11. Thomas " "	8	500
12. Joshua " "	6	300
13. deleted		
14. Eve a woman	36	850
15. Jane "	36	600
16. Fanny "	36	500
17. Tener and son Howard	25 & 1½	1000
18. Bess "	25	850
19. Juda and child Sue	21 & 1½	1000
20. Grace girl	10	400
21. Dinah "	12	450
22. Charlotte	6	350
23. Sue deleted		
24. Nancy woman	63	200
25. Glasgow	3	200
26. Glasgow man diseased	25	400
27. Tony man	65	250
28. Hager a woman about	80	--
29. Phebe	50	200
30. Rachael	36	800
31. Harriett a girl	12	400
32. Scippio, a boy	8	350
33. Jerry	4	250
94 head stock cattle valued at \$5.00 per head	470	
3 yoke oxen	150	
1 dark mule	100	
1 bright mule	25	
1 bay horse	125	
1 sorrel horse	25	

Table 7 - continued

1 sorrel mare and colt	\$ 80
1 bright sorrel mare	40
1 bright sorrel mare and colt	30
1 grey mare and colt	65
1 iron grey horse	40
1 ox cart	30
2 horse carts	10
1 jersey wagon	15
4 plough and gear for same	6
1 double barrel gun	10
1 musket	5
1 single barrel gun	2
1 lot of tools	10
1 lot of kitchen utensils	5
1 lot of bedding and furniture	40
	<hr/>
Total Value	\$20,033

TABLE 8  
SINCLAIR DOCUMENTARY DATA

Planter	Yrs. of Occupation	# White Inhab.	# Slaves	# Acres Cultiva.	Source
William McIntosh	1793- 1799	2-4	12	50	Hawes 1956
Pierce Butler	1806- 1810	--	--	100	King 1824
Alexander C. Wylly	1810- 1812	--	--	--	King 1824, Wylly n.d.
		10	32	--	U.S. Bureau of Census 1820
		--	27	91	Hazzard 1974
		5	46		U.S. Bureau of Census 1830
Pierce Butler	1824- 1893	--	--	100	King 1824

TABLE 9  
BUTLER ESTATE DOCUMENTARY DATA

Planter	Yrs. of Occupation	# white inhab.	# slaves <sup>a</sup>	# acres <sup>a</sup> cultiva.	Source
Henry Ellis	1758- 17?	--	--	--	Fortson 1972
James Graham	1774- 1774	--	--	--	Georgia Historical Society n.d.
Pierce Butler	1774- 1790	--	--	--	Glynn County Superior Court 1790
James Ladison	1790- 1791	--	--	--	Glynn County Superior Court 1791
Pierce Butler & heirs	1791- 1893 <sup>b</sup> 1793 <sup>b</sup> 1795 1797 1799 1803 1809 1811 1813 1815 1820 (Glynn) 1820 (McIntosh) 1823 1824 1830 (Glynn) 1840 (McIntosh)	-- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- 2 1 -- -- -- -- 1	-- 433 215 352 359 344 500 632 669 525 159 416 87 <sup>c</sup> 572 270 436	-- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- 5037 -- -- -- 345 -- -- -- --	Wister Papers 1894 Butler Papers 1793 Butler Papers 1795 Butler Papers 1797 Butler Papers 1799 Butler Papers 1803 Butler Papers 1809 King, Sr. 1811 King, Sr. 1813 Wister Papers 1815 U.S. Bureau of Census 1820 U.S. Bureau of Census 1820 Hazzard 1974 Butler Papers 1824 U.S. Bureau of Census 1830 U.S. Bureau of Census 1840



Table 9 - continued

Planter	Yrs. of Occupation	# white inhab.	# slaves <sup>a</sup>	# acres <sup>a</sup> cultiva.	Source
	1848	--	809	4750	King, Jr. 1848
	1850	3	319	--	U.S. Bureau of Census 1850
	(Glynn)				
	1850	--	523	--	U.S. Bureau of Census 1850
	(McIntosh)				
	1859	--	919	--	Glynn County Superior Court 1859
	1860	--	505	--	U.S. Bureau of Census 1860
	(McIntosh)				

- a - Unless indicated by county, figures given are for entire Butler estate, both Glynn and McIntosh counties.  
 b - From this point on, dates are for year of information.  
 c - Hazzard's statistics are for full hands only.

TABLE 10  
BUTLER ESTATE - 1815 INVENTORY\*

Valuation of the following property made by two gentlemen not interested at different times

Hampton Plantation

150 acres of first quality land	@ \$35/acre	\$ 5250
140 acres of 2nd quality land	20/acre	2800
46 acres of 3rd quality land	10/acre	460
60 acres of scrub savanna and swamp	5/acre	300
1188 acres of inferior marsh	.50/acre	594

Buildings

a mansion house with four half circular rooms, 60 X 38 with kitchen and storeroom		7000
a manager's house 30 X 38 feet including kitchen, smokehouse, poultry and wash house		2500
one cotton barn 60 X 40 feet with 2 gins		3000
one corn house 36 X 20		200
one horse mill 32 X 32		1500
one storehouse 47 X 20		500
one storehouse 36 X 20		500
one hospital 50 X 16		500
one horse stable and carriage house 40 X 36		400
twelve negro houses @ \$200 each		2400

Total - Hampton \$ 19,100

Jones Plantation

312 acres of first quality land @ \$ 35/acre	\$ 10920
90 acres of 2nd quality land 20/acre	1800
40 acres 3rd quality land 10/acre	400
140 acres good swamp and scrub 5/acre	700
324 acres of pine 1/acre	324
300 acres of prime marsh equal to experiment 5/acre	1500
800 acres inferior marsh .50/acre	400

Buildings

one cotton barn 60 X 40 feet and two gins	3000
seven other buildings @ \$200 each	1400

Total Jones \$ 20,444

\* - Only pertinent parts of the plantation included on this table.

TABLE 11  
BUTLER ESTATE - BIRTHS AND DEATHS OF SLAVES

Year	Births	Deaths	Increase Given	Total Years*
1800	11	7		
1812	29	13	66	10
1817	19	18	83	15
1819	29	19	10	1
1820	25	16	19	2
1821	19	27	11	3
1822	19	22	7	4
1823	32	14	25	5
1824	30	18	37	6
1825	20	28	29	7
1826	40	23	46	8
1827	41	39	48	9
1828	46	25	69	10
1829	31	16	84	11
1830	41	25	100	12
1831	45	20	125	13
1832	31	29	127	14
1833	43	34	137	15
1834	53	34	156	16

\* - Number of years increase cumulated over

TABLE 12  
BUTLER ESTATE - SLAVE CENSUS DATA

Hampton Plantation - 1811

Under 10	10-20	20-45	45-60	Over 60	Total
71	65	59	17	23	235

Hampton Plantation - 1830

Under 10	10-24	24-36	36-55	55-100	Total
Males					
33	34	23	18	6	114
Females					
40	47	18	18	13	136

Hampton Plantation - 1848

Under 15	15-25	25-35	35-45	45-60	60+	Total
Males						
56	30	2	4	11	10	113
Females						
74	30	12	19	17	14	166

FIGURE 3

1939 PHOTOGRAPH OF SLAVE DUPLEX AT HAMPTON POINT



FIGURE 4

1939 PHOTOGRAPH OF SLAVE DUPLEX AT HAMPTON POINT-  
INTERIOR





FIGURE 5

MAIN PLANTATION COMPLEX - HAMPTON POINT  
SUBSIDIARY STRUCTURE



FIGURE 6

OVERSEER'S HOUSE RUINS - HAMPTON POINT



## CHAPTER 4 SITE DATA

### Pike's Bluff

The previous survey of Pike's Bluff had revealed four midden areas, a probable privy, and the chimney base of the main house. The excavations concentrated on three of the middens and the privy (Fig. 7). The main house area had been severely looted and was therefore ignored during these excavations (Figs. 8 and 9). A possible well was located during the excavations but there was insufficient time to test this feature.

The privy was located almost 35 meters due north of the main house chimney (Fig. 7). It was constructed of native limonite concretions placed in a spread tabby footing (Figs. 10 and 11). The walls were apparent only on three sides, a large oak sitting on or next to the fourth side. This construction extended to 70 cm. below ground surface and rested on a bed of sterile white sand (Fig. 12). The construction would suggest that there was a frame enclosure above the masonry foundation. A possible doorway was located (Fig. 13), and is indicated as the Feature 1 extension. Resting on sterile soil inside the privy was an 1819 U.S. large cent, giving a terminus post quem for construction of this feature.

Of the three middens tested, Test Square C was the deepest and the only midden unit to yield a feature. A ditch or trench filled with water sorted sand bisected the square and in one end contained a complete brass bung (keg tap) (Fig. 14). The ditch may have been used for drainage or it is possible that there was a cistern in the area at one point. The feature was abandoned and the trash then deposited to a depth of approximately 70 cm. There were no directly dateable artifacts in this square, but a Mean Ceramic Date of 1807 was calculated. This is somewhat early for the site, but early dates are a common phenomena on 19th century sites (Otto 1975; Fairbanks 1974; Singleton 1980).

Midden depth in Test Square D was very shallow: only 30 cm. From the recovered artifacts it is hypothesized that this midden was in the immediate vicinity of some outbuilding, possibly the kitchen. It has fewer ceramics and faunal material, but has the highest occurrence of cooking vessels and utensils. The kitchen trash was probably deposited away from the main house and kitchen area, leading to such an artifact distribution.

Test Square E was placed in the midden farthest from the house structure and proved to be an area of household trash deposition. There was a high quantity of ceramics and faunal material and a low proportion of architectural artifacts. Midden depth in this square was approximately

40 cm. There was a possible posthole in the south wall, but as this was the last day of excavations, there was not time to go farther.

#### Kitchen Group Artifacts - Ceramics

The ceramics at Pike's Bluff were somewhat later than the other sites tested with a Mean Ceramic Date of 1811.9. This is not surprising in that this was probably the latest occupied site, from 1827-1857. The fact that the MCD is thirty years earlier than the expected median date of occupation can be explained in light of the already mentioned problems of applying this formula to nineteenth-century sites. The MCD of each unit is close to the site's date, indicating that they were all in use at roughly the same time (Table 13). Test Squares C and D were somewhat earlier but within five years while the privy and Test Square E were slightly late. Only one directly dateable ceramic piece was recovered, a plate with "Riley" impressed. This mark belonged to the firm of John and Richard Riley who were in business from 1802-1828 and exported large quantities of earthenwares to the United States (Godden 1964:540). This date overlaps with Hazzard's occupation of the site.

The majority of the ceramics recovered were plain pearlware or transfer printed pearlware (Figs. 15-17). Blue and green edged pearlware and whiteware were also present in large amounts (Table 13). It can be noted that

there is a marked decline in ceramics in Test Square D which may be due to its hypothesized structural function.

Recently a pricing scale for decorative types (regardless of ware) has been developed for nineteenth century sites (Miller 1980). The scale is divided into four levels: 1) plain undecorated ceramics; 2) minimal decoration such as edged, banded, sponged, and mocha; 3) handpainted both polychrome and blue; and 4) transfer printed ceramics. This scaling is based on price lists from merchants and potters. By examining the Pike's Bluff ceramics it can be seen that the majority (68%) fall into the first two levels. There is a marked decrease in the third level and then an increase in the fourth. By 1850, transfer printed wares were beginning to decline in price, although they still were not as cheap as the other types (Miller 1980). As this was a planter context, proportionately large quantities of levels 3 and 4 would be expected. Comparisons to other data will be made in Chapter 5.

Miller also generated a scaling level for forms available in these decorative types (Miller 1980). It was found that bowls were the least expensive, plates next, and cups were the most costly. This largely reinforces the pattern which Otto found at Cannon's Point (Otto 1975). At all of the sites excavated for this project, it was very difficult to reconstruct vessels enough



to separate cups from bowls, creating a difficulty in using Miller's scale (Table 14). It can be noted that holloware forms greatly outnumbered flatwares, which may be indicative of lower status forms on the site. When examining decorative type by form (Table 15), a pattern of lower level decorative types in higher priced forms and vice versa can be seen. The plain and minimally decorated types have a proportionately high occurrence in plates, while the transfer printed forms have a high occurrence in holloware forms. This may represent some attempt to mediate the pricing levels.

Of note in the recovered ceramics was one possible colonoware sherd (Fig. 18). Currently, there is considerable discussion over the possible slave origin of these ceramics (Ferguson 1980; Lees and Lees 1979). While they had previously been attributed to Indian manufacture (and called Colono-Indian wares), they are now thought to be also a product of slave manufacture. They are particularly prevalent on South Carolina plantations, but markedly absent on Georgia estates. At present most researchers feel that this is a factor of time, the Georgia plantation system developing much later than the South Carolina system (Singleton 1980:209; Garrow personal communication). By the time the Georgia plantations developed, mass marketed ceramics were readily available, whereas on the earlier South Carolina sites they had not been.

Kitchen Artifact Group - Alcoholic and Pharmaceutical Bottles

Pike's Bluff yielded little glass from alcoholic beverage bottles, only 116 fragments. Most of these were dark green wine bottle fragments but there were 23 pieces of what appeared to be a single champagne bottle. Most of the wine bottle fragments were recovered from Test Square C. None of the pieces were large enough, or could be restored, to determine type of bottle for dating purposes.

Only 28 fragments from pharmaceutical bottles were recovered, perhaps surprising because Hazzard was a physician. It is not known whether he actually practiced. Most of these fragments were from small square bottles with no determining marks. There were a few small round bottles as well. One panel bottle was recovered with a partial mark, "Calcin" but no origin for this could be found.

Kitchen Artifact Group - Food Preparation and Consumption

There were few artifacts from this category, only two three-legged skillets and fragments of a large cauldron (Fig. 19a). Remains of two iron utensils, one a spoon (Fig. 19e), and one bone-handled utensil were also found. This small number of items may reflect the fact that all useable items were salvaged and only the useless pieces were left. Most were recovered from Test Square D, reinforcing its possible kitchen function.

### Architectural Artifact Group

Building hardware made up a considerable percentage of the recovered artifacts at Pike's Bluff (49.4%). By far the most numerous were nails. Most of these were too rusted to be readily identifiable, but those which could be classified were almost all square, machine cut nails. There were no wire wound nails and only two hand wrought. The square cut nails appeared to have a machine made head, a process not available until 1820 (Noel-Hume 1969:253). The hand wrought nails were also square cut, but had hand shaped heads. These were made between 1790 and 1820 (Noel-Hume 1969:253). The nails would suggest, then, that the site structures were constructed after 1820, but largely before 1850. This coincides with Thomas Hazzard's occupation of the site.

The rest of the architectural hardware included hinges, spikes, lock mechanisms, a screw, and wing nut (Fig. 19). The five hinges recovered all came from midden areas and did not appear to indicate any structural feature. The lock mechanisms came from Test Square D and a test trench near the house.

Very little window glass was recovered, only 17 fragments. This may reflect the fact that the excavations were conducted in non-structural areas. It is almost certain that the planter's house would have had glazed windows, rather than simply being shuttered.

### Activities Group

Most of the artifacts recovered from this group pertained to subsistence activities. Several lead weights probably used for fishing and two hoes were found at the site. A crank, possibly for a cotton gin, was also recovered (Fig. 20). One of the hoe blades had several studs which may have been used to repair the hoe at some point (Fig. 19b).

Two artifacts which might be included in the activities group are a brass astrolabe and a brass bung (Figs. 20 and 21). The astrolabe is like no type which could be found in the literature (Fig. 21). It was recovered from Test Square D. The reason for its presence is not clear. It could be used for telling the day of the month. The brass bung was used for tapping a keg, or perhaps a cistern. This could not be determined.

### Clothing Group

The main constituents of the clothing group were buttons, 5 brass, 4 iron, 3 bone, 3 shell, and one porcelain. The other clothing artifacts were an iron buckle, belt size, scissors and a brass thimble. The buttons were of assorted types. The bone and shell specimens seemed to be shirt buttons as they were larger than those usually found on undergarments (Otto 1975:250). The brass buttons included Type 7, 12, and 18 while the iron buttons

ere Type 24 and 27 (Noel-Hume 1969:91). The one porcelain button found was Type 23. As the buttons occur over a wide time range, they were no real aid in dating the site. They do suggest that the site was occupied after 1800, but are no more specific (South 1964:121).

#### Personal Group

Only three artifacts from this group were recovered, a copper coin, a bone toothbrush, and a pocket knife (Fig. 22). As previously mentioned, an 1819 U.S. large cent was recovered at the base of the privy. The bone toothbrush and pocket knife were also found inside the privy. Perhaps this reflects the personal nature of this feature.

#### Tobacco Pipe Group

Tobacco pipes made up a fairly large quantity of the recovered artifacts. While pipestem diameter has been used to date sites, this method is not accurate for nineteenth century sites (Noel-Hume 1961:300). Stem diameter, in this case, would indicate a date much too early (Binford 1962), as most of the pipestems are 5/64ths which occur primarily between 1710-1750.

The pipebowls recovered were likewise not diagnostic. There were no distinguishing markings on either bowls or pipestems.

### Faunal Group

The faunal data for Pike's Bluff are presented in Tables 16-20. As can be seen domestic species contributed the major portion of the diet when large mammal was included. While Odocoileus virginianus is a non-domestic large mammal, its contribution to the diet was so small (1.9%) that it was felt that large mammal could be included in the domestic category. This was significant because large mammal contributed so much to the weight and biomass.

A total of 27 species are represented at the site. Mammals and turtles are the most important contributors to the diet. Mammals make up 75.4% of the biomass while turtles are 11.5%. Birds, other reptiles, and fish are not present in great quantities. It has to be remembered, though, that screen size may have biased these results, particularly in the case of fish.

A variety of habitats were exploited, both inland and coastal. Most of the non-domestic mammals could be obtained either from the marsh or in the vicinity of cultivated fields. Inland ponds were the source of two of the turtle species, Chrysemys sp. and Dierochelys reticularia, as well as the duck represented, Anas cf. strepara. Malaclemys terrapin, the most numerous turtle species in the sample, is found almost exclusively in the marsh. Most of the fish could be found in tidal

creeks or estuaries (Reitz 1979:187-189). All of the habitats exploited are within easy procurement distance of Pike's Bluff. Many of the non-domestic species could be trapped. The cormorant, Phalacrocorax auritus, showed evidence of skewering, probably done during preparation.

### Summary

The artifact profile for Pike's Bluff is given in Table 21. It can be seen that, in this case, kitchen and architectural group artifacts are almost equally represented. Since only midden areas were excavated, this is somewhat surprising. Of the other groups, only tobacco artifacts were represented in any significant quantity. These figures may be suggestive of the small planter with fewer non-essential items. Chapter 5 will present comparisons to other sites.

### Sinclair

At Sinclair, the walls of the main house outline a structure of 12 X 15 meters with a central hall and two identical rooms on either side (Figs. 23-25). The walls of the house vary in height, but it seems probable that this was a two story building. One of the occupants of the house described it as a "big rambling bungalow" (Houston-Wyllly Papers 1827). Other than this structure, there was only one other visible evidence of the estate, the graves of William McIntosh and two of his children,

TABLE 13  
PIKE'S BLUFF - CERAMIC TOTALS

Ceramic Type	Privy	Test C	Test D	Test E	Totals	%
whiteware	22	16	3	17	58	8.0
canton porcelain	3			1	4	.5
overglazed porcelain		2			2	.3
fingerpainted pearlware	1	2			3	.4
transfer printed pearlware	58	22	8	41	129	17.9
underglazed polychrome						
pearlware	3	14		8	25	3.5
annular pearlware	2	4	2	9	17	2.4
underglazed blue pearl- ware	2				2	.3
blue and green edged						
pearlware	22	24	6	17	69	9.6
pearlware	58	75	29	74	236	32.8
creamware	2	9	3		14	1.9
basalties	1				1	.1
jackfield		1			1	.1
agateware		4			4	.5
white stoneware	1				1	.1
leadglazed slipware	1	8	1	4	14	1.9
brown saltglazed						
stoneware	4	2		12	18	2.5
grey stoneware		3			3	.4
transfer printed						
whiteware	3	1		25	29	4.0
white porcelain	1			1	2	.3
spongeware		2			2	.3
yellowware		2	1		3	.4
blue and green edged						
whiteware	3	4	5	13	25	3.5



Table 13 - continued

Ceramic Type	Privy	Test C	Test D	Test E	Totals	%
blue and tan stoneware	1		12		13	1.8
unglazed earthenware		7			7	1.0
polychrome whiteware		2			2	.3
other	7	10	3	16	36	5.0
Totals	195	214	73	238	720	
Mean Ceramic Date	1815.5	1807.0	1807.6	1812.5	1811.9	
Ceramic Weight	1358.2	866.4	458.7	941.1	3624.4	
Price Scale Level Totals						
Level 1 - 308						
Level 2 - 116						
Level 3 - 29						
Level 4 - 158						

TABLE 14  
PIKE'S BLUFF - CERAMIC FORM DATA

Location	Plate	Bowl	Cup or Bowl	Holloware	Mug or Pitcher
Privy %	14 51.9	1 3.7	7 25.9	5 18.5	
Square C %	8 24.2	6 18.2	12 36.4	7 21.2	
Square D %	5 41.7	1 8.3	1 8.3	5 41.7	
Square E %	10 30.3	11 33.3	6 18.2	2 6.1	4 12.1
TOTALS %	37 35.2	19 18.1	26 24.8	19 18.1	4 3.8

Total Flatware - 37 (35.2%)  
Total Holloware - 68 (64.8%)

TABLE 15  
PIKE'S BLUFF - CERAMIC FORM DATA BY TYPE

Type	Plate	Bowl	Cup or Bowl	Holloware	Mug or Pitcher
whiteware	3	3	2		
overglazed porcelain		1	1		
fingerpainted pearlware			1		
transfer printed pearlware	5	2	11	5	
underglazed polychrome pearlware	1	2	4	3	1
blue and green edged pearlware	13	1		1	
annular pearlware		2	1		3
underglazed blue pearlware			2		
pearlware	7	5	4	1	
creamware	2			2	
leadglazed slipware		1		1	
brown saltglazed stoneware				1	
transfer printed whiteware	2			3	
yellowware		1			
blue and green edged whiteware	2				
blue and tan stoneware				2	
other	1			1	
Totals	37	19	26	19	4

TABLE 16  
PIKE'S BLUFF - FAUNAL DATA

Species	Weight	%	MNI	%	Biomass	%
<u>Bos taurus</u>	523.6	18.1	11	16.2	9.39	16.2
<u>Sus scrofa</u>	228.1	7.9	8	11.8	5.65	9.7
<u>Odocoileus virginianus</u>	36.0	1.2	2	2.9	1.12	1.9
<u>Ovis or Capra sp.</u>	52.8	1.8	1	1.5	.97	1.7
<u>Procyon lotor</u>	16.3	.6	5	7.3	1.58	2.7
<u>Didelphis virginianus</u>	13.2	.5	5	7.3	.94	1.6
<u>Sylvilagus palustris</u>	2.6	.1	2	2.9	.44	.8
<u>Sylvilagus sp.</u>	.5	*	1	1.5	.16	.3
<u>Rattus sp.</u>	1.3	*	**	**	**	**
<u>Rodentia</u>	1.0	*	**	**	**	**
Unidentified Mammal						
large	1217.8	42.1	--	--	17.17	29.5
small	21.6	.8	--	--	2.57	4.4
indet.	72.2	2.5	--	--	3.85	6.6
<u>Gallus gallus</u>	9.6	.3	5	7.3	1.05	1.8
<u>Anas cf. strepera</u>	.3	*	1	1.5	.11	.2
<u>Phalacrocorax auritus</u>	4.2	.1	1	1.5	.33	.6
<u>Meleagris gallopavo</u>	23.0	.8	1	1.5	.64	1.1
<u>Uniden. Aves</u>	20.1	.7	--	--	1.65	2.8
<u>Bufo sp.</u>	1.7	*	**	**	**	**
<u>Gopherus polyphemus</u>	11.6	.4	2	2.9	.71	1.2
<u>Chrysemys sp.</u>	3.9	.1	3	4.4	.70	1.2
<u>Malaclemys terrapin</u>	118.0	4.1	5	7.3	2.27	3.9
<u>Terrepene carolina</u>	1.6	*	1	1.5	.25	.4
<u>Dierochelys reticularia</u>	2.0	.1	2	2.9	.44	.7
<u>Uniden. Chelonia</u>	154.0	5.3	--	--	2.38	4.1
<u>Alligator mississippiensis</u>	1.8	.1	1	1.5	.22	.4
<u>Uniden. Reptilia</u>	.2	*	--	--	--	--
<u>Caranx hippo</u>	4.1	.1	2	2.9	.54	.9
<u>Archosargus probatocephalus</u>	.6	*	1	1.5	.13	.3
<u>Bagre marinus</u>	3.2	.1	2	2.9	.44	.8

Table 16 - continued

Species	Weight	%	MNI	%	Biomass	%
<i>Arius felis</i>	.6	*	1	1.5	.15	.3
Ariidae	2.6	.1	3	4.4	.42	.7
Sciaenidae	2.6	.1	2	2.9	.53	.9
Uniden. Osteichthyes	24.8	.9	--	--	1.53	2.6
Uniden. bone	314.7	10.9	--	--	--	--
Totals	2892.2	99.9	68	99.8	58.11	99.9
Domestic including large mammal	814.1	28.1			17.06	29.2
	2031.9	70.3			34.23	58.7
Non-domestic	453.3	15.7			18.60	31.9
Indeterminate	407.0	14.1			5.50	9.4

## Number of Fragments Identified

Mammal	86
Aves	11
Reptilia	133
Osteichthyes	12
Total	242

\* - less than .1

\*\* - considered non-food bone

TABLE 17  
PIKE'S BLUFF - FAUNAL DATA  
TEST SQUARES A & B

Species	Weight	%	MNI	%	Biomass	%
<u>Bos taurus</u>	234.9	28.2	3	13.0	3.40	17.3
<u>Sus scrofa</u>	31.9	3.8	3	13.0	1.75	8.9
<u>Odocoileus virginianus</u>	16.0	1.9	1	4.3	.61	3.1
<u>Procyon lotor</u>	6.7	.8	2	8.7	.62	3.2
<u>Didelphis virginianus</u>	9.4	1.1	1	4.3	.28	1.4
<u>Sylvilagus palustris</u>	2.0	.2	1	4.3	.27	1.4
<u>Rattus sp.</u>	1.3	.2	**	**	**	**
<u>Rodentia</u>	1.0	.1	**	**	**	**
Unidentified Mammal						
large	354.4	42.6	--	--	5.39	27.4
small	5.3	.6	--	--	1.05	5.3
indeterminate	24.0	2.9	--	--	1.24	6.3
<u>Gallus gallus</u>	7.2	.9	2	8.7	.56	2.8
<u>Phalacrocorax auritus</u>	4.2	.5	1	4.3	.33	1.7
<u>Meleagris gallopavo</u>	23.0	2.8	1	4.3	.64	3.3
<u>Anas cf. strepera</u>	.3	*	1	4.3	.28	1.4
<u>Uniden. Aves</u>	14.3	1.7	--	--	.80	4.1
<u>Bufo sp.</u>	1.7	.2	**	**	**	**
<u>Gopherus polyphemus</u>	2.6	.3	1	4.3	.29	1.5
<u>Chrysemys sp.</u>	3.3	.4	2	8.7	.50	2.5
<u>Dierochelys reticularia</u>	1.0	.1	1	4.3	.22	1.1
<u>Uniden. Chelonia</u>	3.0	.4	--	--	.50	2.5
<u>Uniden. Reptilia</u>	.2	*	--	--	--	--
<u>Arius felis</u>	.6	.1	1	4.3	.15	.8
<u>Ariidae</u>	.2	*	1	4.3	.09	.4
<u>Sciaenidae</u>	1.3	.2	1	4.3	.26	1.3
<u>Uniden. Osteichthyes</u>	1.5	.2	--	--	.42	2.1
<u>Uniden. bone</u>	80.6	9.7	--	--	--	--
Totals	831.9	99.9	23	99.4	19.65	99.8

TABLE 18  
PIKE'S BLUFF - FAUNAL DATA  
TEST SQUARE C

Species	Weight	%	MNI	%	Biomass	%
<u>Bos taurus</u>	118.5	10.1	4	22.2	2.68	13.8
<u>Sus scrofa</u>	180.0	15.3	4	22.2	3.29	17.0
<u>Ovis or Capra sp.</u>	52.8	4.5	1	5.5	.97	5.0
<u>Odocoileus virginianus</u>	10.0	.9	1	5.5	.51	2.6
<u>Procyon lotor</u>	3.0	.3	1	5.5	.32	1.7
<u>Didelphis virginianus</u>	.6	.1	1	5.5	.17	.9
<u>Sylvilagus palustris</u>	.6	.1	1	5.5	.17	.9
Uniden. Mammal						
large	638.4	54.3	--	--	6.60	34.1
small	7.6	.6	--	--	.81	4.2
indeterminate	24.8	2.1	--	--	1.23	6.3
Uniden. Aves	2.2	.2	--	--	.38	2.0
<u>Dicrochelys reticularia</u>	1.0	.1	1	5.5	.22	1.1
<u>Malaclemys terrapin</u>	3.6	.3	1	5.5	.32	1.6
<u>Gopherus polyphemus</u>	9.0	.8	1	5.5	.42	2.2
<u>Terrapene carolina</u>	1.6	.1	1	5.5	.25	1.3
<u>Uniden. Chelona</u>	1.5	.1	--	--	.41	2.1
<u>Caranx hippos</u>	2.2	.2	1	5.5	.28	1.4
<u>Uniden. Osteichthyes</u>	3.2	.3	--	--	.33	1.7
Uniden. Bone	114.2	9.7	--	--	--	--
Totals	1174.8	100.1	18	99.9	19.36	99.9

TABLE 19  
PIKE'S BLUFF - FAUNAL DATA  
TEST SQUARE D

Species	Weight	%	MNI	%	Biomass	%
<u>Sus scrofa</u>	16.7	11.6	1	16.7	.61	14.3
<u>Procyon lotor</u>	6.6	4.7	2	33.3	.64	15.0
<u>Uniden. Mammal</u>						
large	82.0	58.9	--	--	1.75	41.0
indet.	2.5	1.8	--	--	.39	9.1
cf. <u>Bagre marinus</u>	1.1	.8	1	16.7	.19	4.4
cf. <u>Caranx hippos</u>	1.9	1.4	1	16.7	.26	6.1
<u>Scianidae</u>	1.3	.9	1	16.7	.27	6.3
<u>Uniden. Osteichthyes</u>	.4	.3	--	--	.16	3.7
<u>Uniden. bone</u>	27.6	19.8	--	--	--	--
Totals	139.2	100.2	6	100.1	4.27	99.9



TABLE 20  
PIKE'S BLUFF - FAUNAL DATA  
TEST SQUARE E

Species	Weight	%	MNI	%	Biomass	%
<u>Bos taurus</u>	166.2	21.4	4	21.0	3.31	22.1
<u>Didelphis virginianus</u>	3.2	.4	2	10.5	.49	3.3
<u>Sylvilagus sp.</u>	.5	.1	1	5.3	.16	1.1
<u>Uniden. Mammal</u>						
large	194.1	25.0	--	--	3.43	22.9
small	8.7	1.1	--	--	.71	4.7
indet.	20.9	2.7	--	--	.99	6.6
<u>Gallus gallus</u>	2.0	.3	3	15.8	.49	3.3
<u>Uniden. Aves</u>	3.6	.5	--	--	.47	3.1
<u>Malaclemys terrapin</u>	110.5	14.2	4	21.0	1.95	13.0
<u>Chrysemys sp.</u>	.6	.1	1	5.3	.20	1.3
<u>Uniden. Chelonia</u>	149.5	19.3	--	--	1.47	9.8
<u>Alligator mississippiensis</u>	1.8	.2	1	5.3	.22	1.2
<u>Archosargus probatocephalus</u>	.6	.1	1	5.3	.13	.9
<u>Bagre marinus</u>	.6	.1	1	5.3	.25	1.7
<u>Ariidae</u>	2.4	.3	2	10.5	.33	2.2
<u>Uniden. Osteichthyes</u>	19.7	2.5	--	--	.62	4.1
<u>Uniden. bone</u>	92.3	11.9	--	--	--	--
Totals	776.6	100.1	20	100.0	15.00	100.1

TABLE 21  
PIKE'S BLUFF ARTIFACT PROFILE

Artifact Group	Privy Quan.	%	Test C Quan.	%	Test D Quan.	%	Test E Quan.	%	Total Quan.	%
Kitchen	221	31.4	293	56.8	86	39.4	286	58.0	886	45.9
Architectural	445	63.2	207	40.1	119	54.6	184	37.3	955	49.4
Activities	3	.4	2	.4	4	1.8	3	.6	12	.6
Arms									0	
Clothing	7	1.0	7	1.4	1	.5	4	.8	19	1.0
Personal	3	.3							3	.1
Tobacco	26	3.7	7	1.4	8	3.7	16	3.2	57	3.0
TOTALS	705		516		218		493		1932	

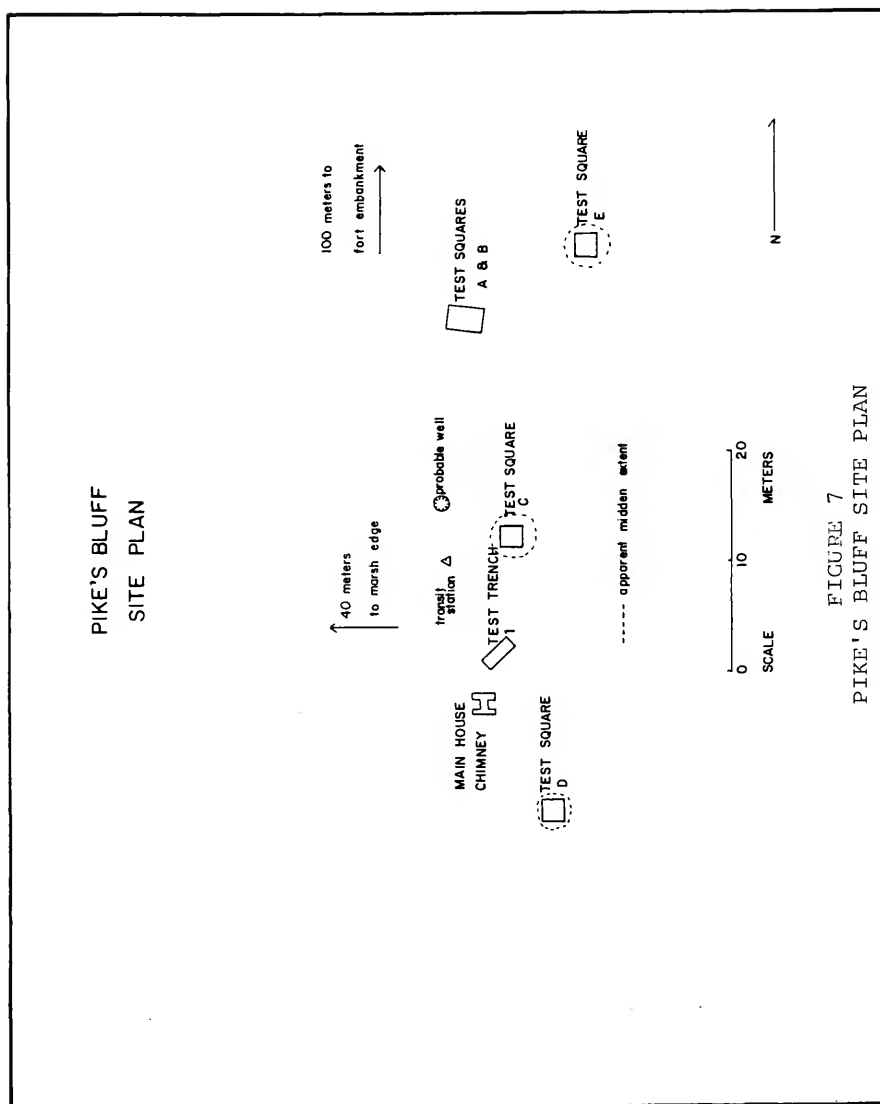


FIGURE 7  
PIKE'S BLUFF SITE PLAN

FIGURE 8

PIKE'S BLUFF MAIN HOUSE HEARTH BASE



PIKE'S BLUFF  
Main House Hearth

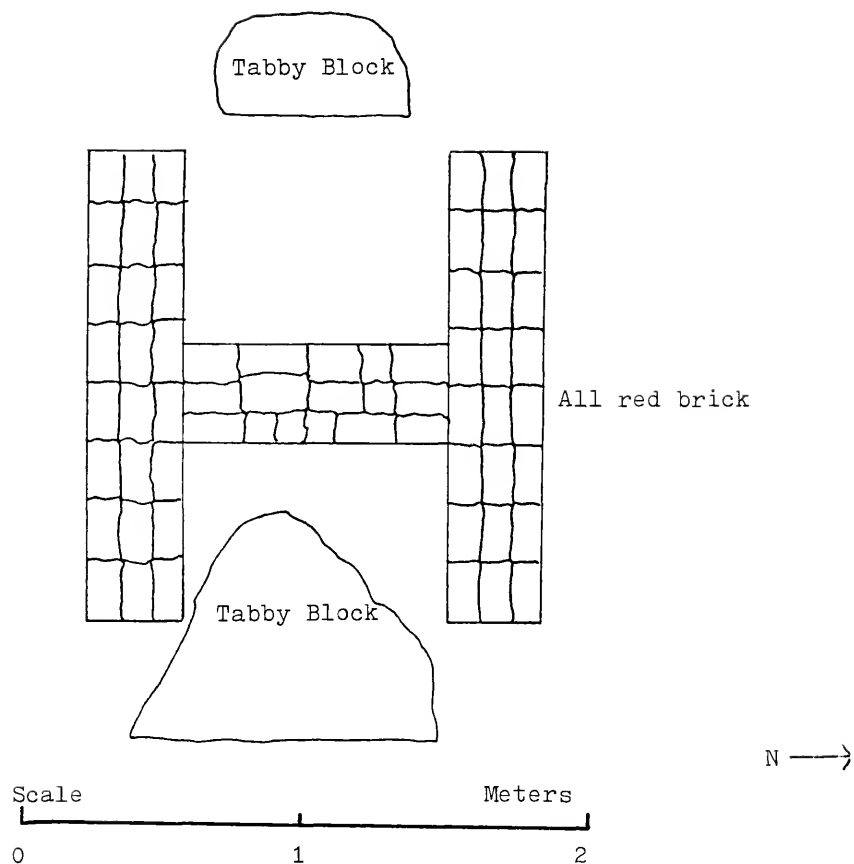


FIGURE 9  
PIKE'S BLUFF MAIN HOUSE HEARTH BASE

FIGURE 10

PIKE'S BLUFF PRIVY





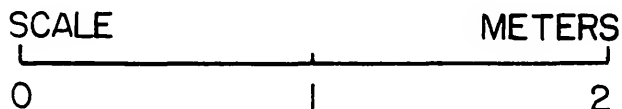
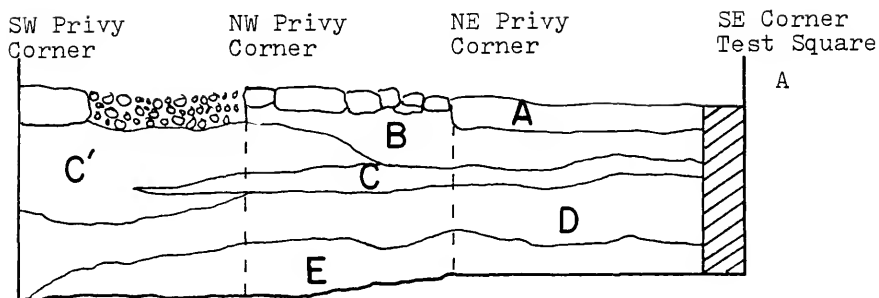
FIGURE 11

PIKE'S BLUFF PRIVY



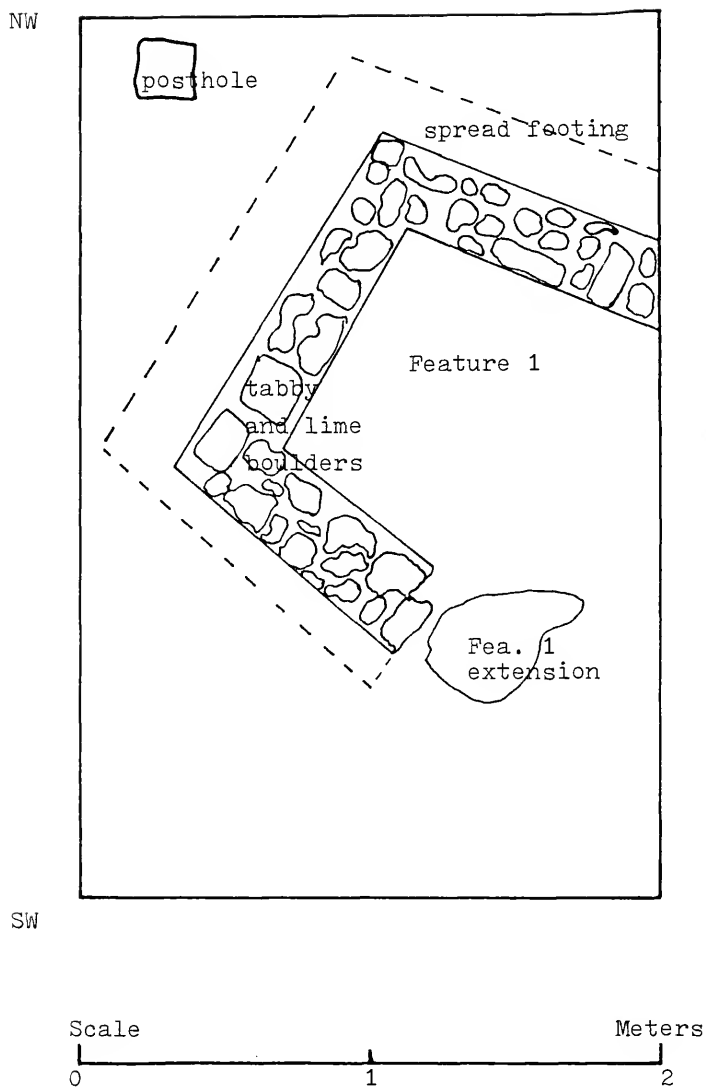
# PIKES BLUFF

## PRIVY PROFILE



- A - Humus and Duff
- B - Medium Grey Sand
- C - White Sand
- C' - Decayed Tabby
- D - Medium Grey Sand mottled with Light Grey Sand
- E - White Sand

FIGURE 12  
PIKE'S BLUFF PRIVY PROFILE



## PIKE'S BLUFF

## Privy Plan

## FIGURE 13

## PIKE'S BLUFF PRIVY PLAN

FIGURE 14

PIKE'S BLUFF - BUNG



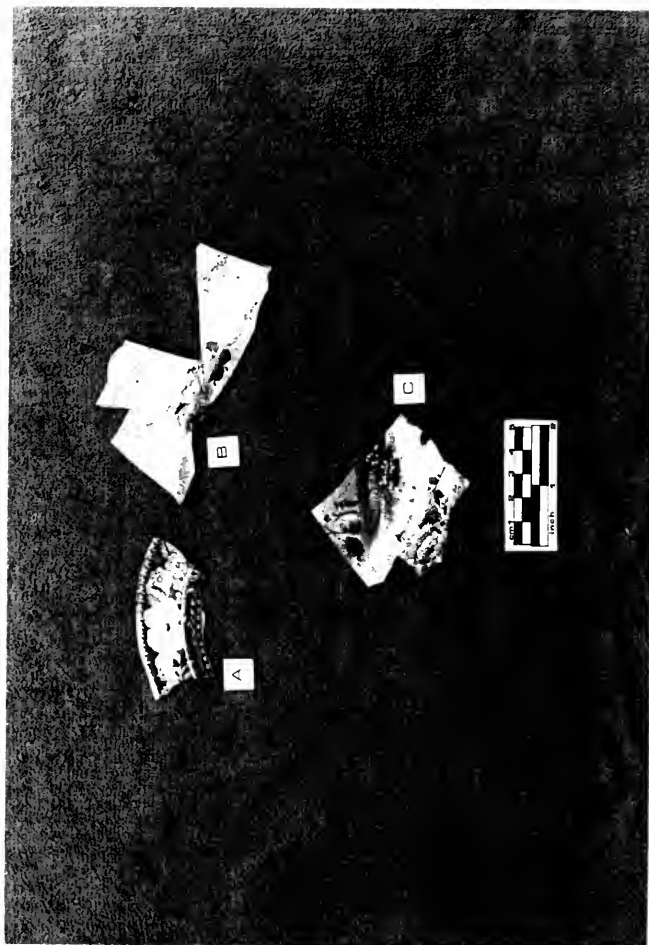


FIGURE 15  
PIKE'S BLUFF - TRANSFER PRINTED CERAMICS



FIGURE 16  
PIKE'S BLUFF - TRANSFER PRINTED CERAMICS



FIGURE 17  
PIKE'S BLUFF - CERAMICS

- A) Annular Pearlware
- B, F, G) Handpainted Pearlware
- C) Creamware
- D) Shelledged Whiteware
- E, H) Overglazed Porcelain



FIGURE 18  
PIKE'S BLUFF - CERAMICS

- A, B, C) Saltglazed Stoneware Jars or Chamberpots
- D) Leadglazed Jar
- E) Unglazed Earthenware
- F) Possible Colonoware

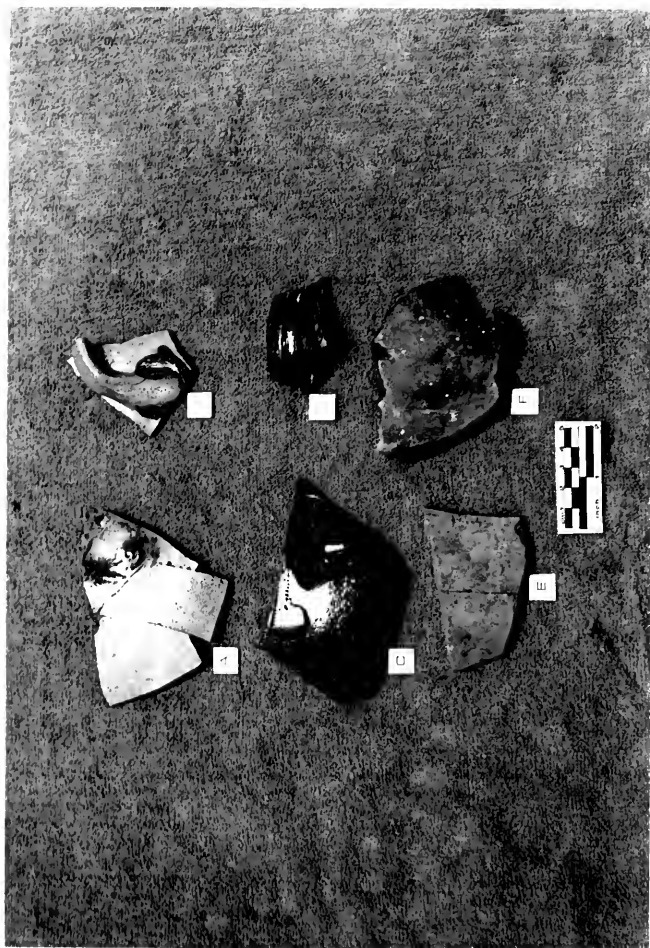


FIGURE 19  
PIKE'S BLUFF - METAL ARTIFACTS

- A) Skillet Fragment
- B) Hoe or Adze Fragment
- C) Padlock
- D) Wingnut
- E) Spoon

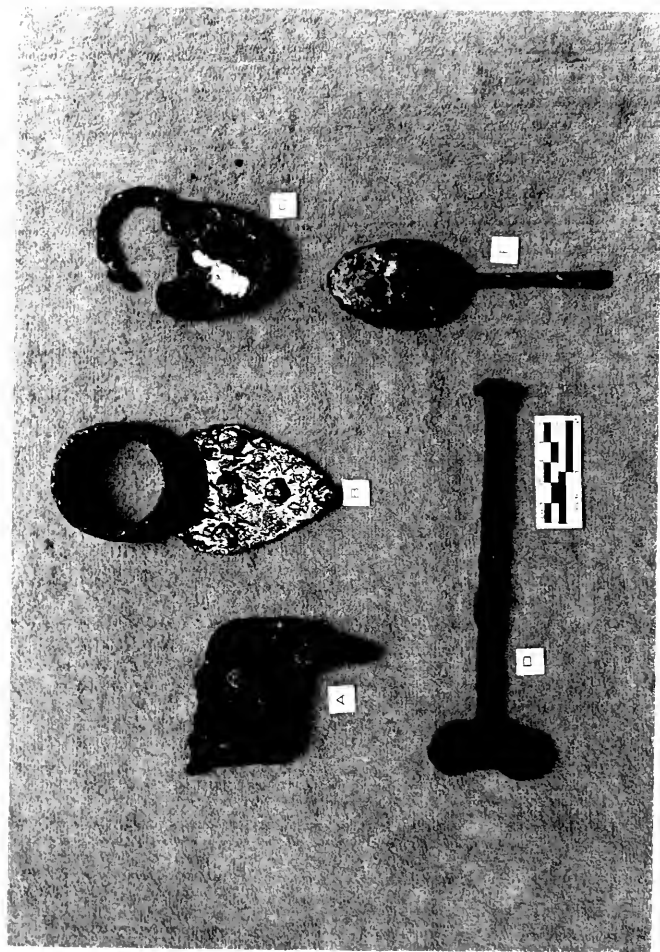


FIGURE 20  
PIKE'S BLUFF - METAL ARTIFACTS

- A) Machine Crank
- B) Brass Bung





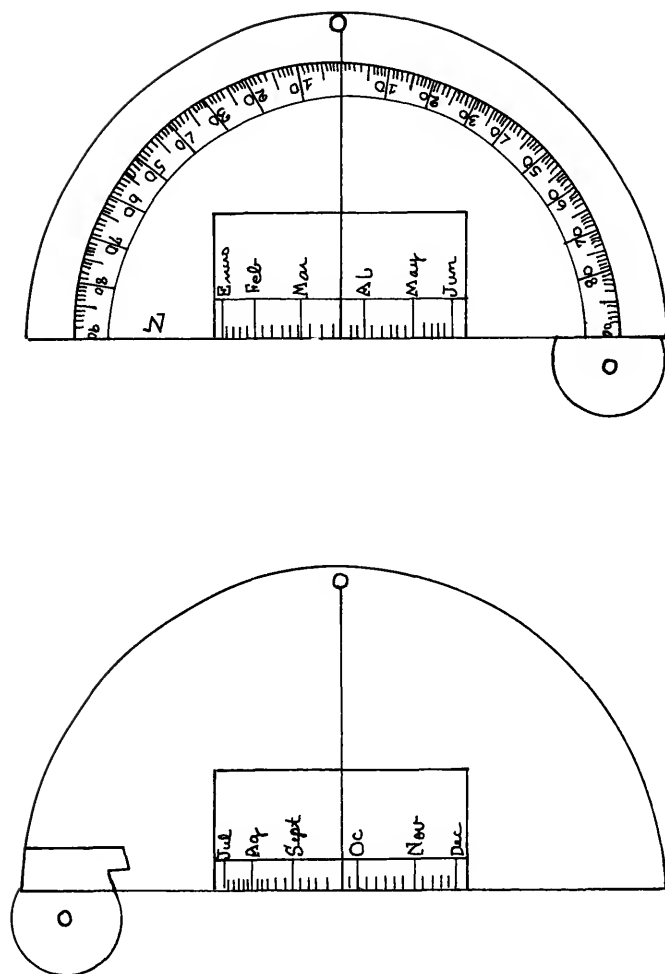
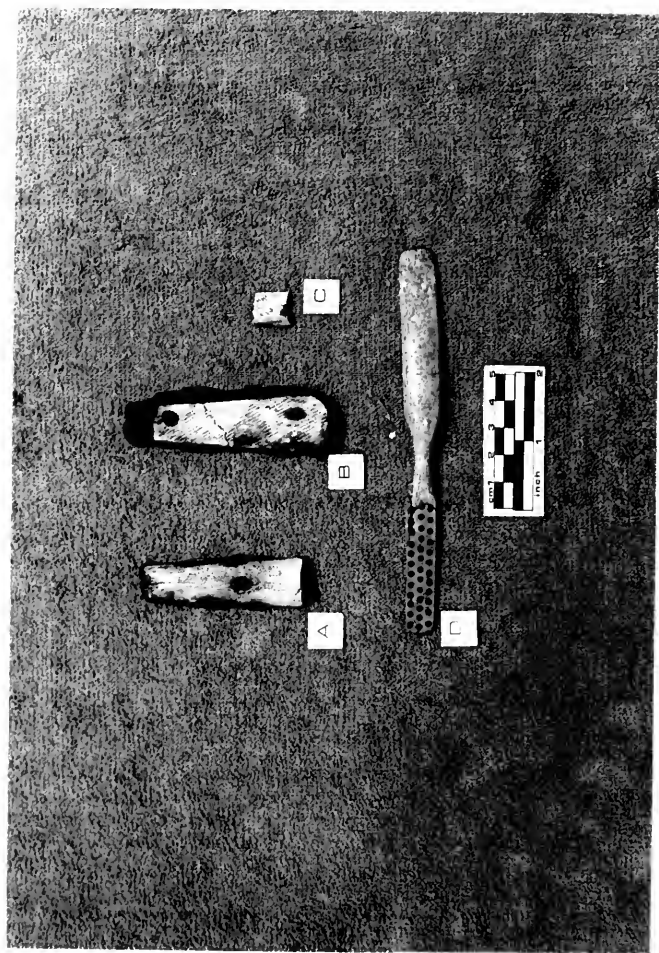


FIGURE 21  
PIKE'S BLUFF - ASTROLABE

FIGURE 22  
PIKE'S BLUFF - BONE ARTIFACTS

- A) Bone Handled Cutlery
- B) Bone Handled Knife
- C) Bone Handled Utensil Fragment
- C) Toothbrush



located in the woods near the house (Figs. 26 and 27). The other areas excavated were located by survey testing and consisted of the kitchen midden, a domestic slave house and another probable support structure (Fig. 28).

At the main house, only one 2 X 2 meter square was excavated as the desire was not to obtain structural evidence, but data on the material culture of the inhabitants. Instead a "backyard archeology" approach was taken in excavating in the midden and support structures (Fairbanks 1977). The square at the house was excavated to test for possible trash deposition at the doorway. Very little evidence of this practice was found.

South of the main house about 25 meters, a possible support structure was excavated (Fig. 29). At first this areas was thought to be a trash deposition area. It was located down a slope and there were no structural remains. After examining the pattern of features, it was decided that this might be some sort of support structure such as a storage shed. In particular, the parallel lines of Feature 9 and the postholes seemed to indicate a building may have one time occupied the area. When examining the profiles across Feature 9 (Fig. 29), the straight side of area "d" also seemed to be structural evidence. Feature 10 appeared to be aboriginal in origin. (An extensive aboriginal site underlay the entire site). The nature of Features 6 and 7 did not

seem apparent, both appeared to be some sort of disturbance.

The kitchen midden area was indicated by surface shell and scattered brick rubble (Fig. 30). Definite subsurface evidence of a structure was not present despite the rubble and decayed tabby. It appeared that the entire area had been used as a garbage dumping site. Feature 1 was a concentration of shell intermixed with artifacts. Feature 2 appeared to be a prehistoric pit although there were few artifacts. The depth of the midden was approximately 50 cm.

The other major area of excavation was a probable domestic slave house (Fig. 31). Its domestic nature was determined by its proximity to the main house (within 30 meters), its small, single size, and because there appeared to be no other structures (which might represent a slave cabin grouping) in the immediate vicinity. Cabin size was approximately  $3\frac{1}{2}$  X  $6\frac{1}{2}$  meters ( $11\frac{1}{2}$  X 21 feet), with a single hearth at the western end of the building. This is quite comparable to other slave cabins on the coast (Otto 1975:111-112; Ascher and Fairbanks 1971:8). It had a tabby brick wall foundation which has been extensively looted and what appeared to be a poured tabby floor. The chimney was probably also made of tabby brick with a red brick hearth. The gap between the poured tabby

floor and the brick foundation suggested the possibility that the walls may have been paneled (Fairbanks personal communication). The postholes on the exterior of the western wall (Fig. 31) indicated the possibility of a shed extension. The probable limits of the structure are shown on Figure 31. There was insufficient time to excavate the entire cabin.

#### Kitchen Artifact Group - Ceramics

Ceramics were the most numerous artifacts recovered at Sinclair. The kitchen, expectedly, had the greatest concentration, 1245 sherds out of the total 1839 (Table 22). A variety of types were present at the site, the most numerous being plain creamware and pearlware, blue and green edged pearlware, and transfer printed pearlware (Fig. 32) (Table 22).

The Mean Ceramic Date for the site is 1801.6, a date which falls within the main occupation of the site. The slave cabin and the main house both yielded later Mean Ceramic Dates, 1806.0 and 1807.1 respectively. The slope area (Squares B, C, D, and E) had a date of 1798.9, and the kitchen a date of 1801.3. All of these fall within the occupation range for the site. The scarcity of later nineteenth century ceramic types causes the Mean Ceramic Date to fall more in line with the site occupation time and there is not the lag seen on other sites (i.e. Pike's Bluff).

Using Miller's pricing scale, the majority of the ceramics fall into the lower two classes (71.8%). This being an earlier site could affect these results since transfer printed ceramics were not as widely available at this date.

Ceramic form is split almost evenly between holloware and flatware forms (Tables 23 and 24). The relatively large quantity of flatware would suggest a high status site (Otto 1975:220; Miller 1980:12). When form is broken down into the site proveniences (Table 23), it can be seen that the flatwares are most common in the kitchen refuse which is almost certainly of planter origin. At the slave cabin and slope area, hollowares predominate. At the slave cabin, these forms are almost certainly indications of lower status. In the case of the slope area, the hollowares may indicate some sort of service or support structure such as a dairy or root cellar. Most of the plate forms occur in edged pearlware, plain pearlware or creamware, while the hollowares occur more in transfer printed pearlware and other decorated pearlwares (Table 24). This, as at Pike's Bluff, may be an attempt to mediate the high cost of flatwares by buying less expensive types.

There appeared to be almost no evidence of sets at Sinclair as the only repeated patterns occurred in the plain and edged pearlwares. These may have been parts of sets, but it could not be ascertained.

From the slope area (Squares B,C,D, and E) an almost complete delftware apothecary jar was recovered (Fig. 32b). These are not common for this time period, but perhaps it was an heirloom.

There was a relatively large amount of porcelain recovered at Sinclair, particularly from the kitchen. While porcelain has not been correlated with status (Otto 1975: 183; Miller 1980:4), it would seem a logical conclusion that porcelain, being rather expensive, would occur on high status sites. Such would seem to be the case at Sinclair, where it occurs primarily in the planter contexts.

#### Kitchen Artifact Group - Pharmaceutical Bottles

There were 61 fragments of pharmaceutical bottles recovered. Most of these occurred in the slope area where several whole bottles were found. Two examples of a bottle stamped "BY THE KING'S PATENT ESSENCE OF PEPPERMINT" were removed, one from the kitchen rubble and another, almost whole, from the slope (Fig. 33e). This type of bottle became common in the latter years of the eighteenth century (Noel-Hume 1969:74). Figure 33f illustrates another type found in the slope area.

The concentration of these bottles in the area of Test Squares B, C, D, and E would seem to suggest that the structure may have been used as a storage facility. A similar pattern will be seen at the Jones site.



### Kitchen Artifact Group - Food Preparation and Consumption

Fourteen fragments of cooking vessels were recovered scattered evenly between the kitchen, slave cabin and slope area. A complete skillet handle was found in the kitchen midden (Fig. 34a). There were, in addition to the cooking vessels, several bone handled eating utensils (Fig. 35), and a complete silver spoon (Fig. 36). A two tined fork (Fig. 35) was popular before 1850 (Noel-Hume 1969:180). Markings on the silver spoon indicated that the maker may have been a London silversmith, Charles Hatfield, and that it was made in 1790-1791 (McDonald-Taylor 1962). The silver spoon came from the slave cabin and was probably a very prized possession.

From the entire site there were 935 wine bottle fragments. As expected, most of these were concentrated in the kitchen midden (71.9%). The other fragments were almost evenly divided between the slope and slave cabin areas. There were a small number of fragments which could be attributed to case bottles by their square shape. Most of these occurred in the kitchen midden.

Several pieces of a goblet were recovered at the slave cabin. In addition to this drinking glass, there were tumbler fragments at both the kitchen and slope.

### Architectural Artifact Group

Nails were the most numerous artifact of this group (1485 total). The majority of the identifiable nails were machine cut (entirely), but there was a relatively large quantity of wrought head nails (machine cut bodies). Since most of the nails were unidentifiable (74.3%), it really is not possible to date any of the structures based on nail chronology, but the presence of wrought head nails would suggest a date within the first twenty-five years of the nineteenth century (Noel-Hume 1969:253).

There were several hinges and spikes recovered, although they were not directly related to any structural evidence. Two lock mechanisms were recovered from the slope area which may indicate that it was necessary to secure the storage shed. Other hardware included a shutter pintle from the kitchen midden (Fig. 34b) and a possible ceiling hook from the slope area.

Window glass at Sinclair was very scarce, only five fragments. This may be an indication that the windows were shuttered rather than glazed.

### Activities Group

The activities group was divided largely between construction and maintenance, and subsistence artifacts. Most of the subsistence artifacts were recovered from the slave cabin. They included five lead weights (used

for fishing) and a hoe (Fig. 38). The other subsistence artifacts were a scythe blade and a lead weight both found in the kitchen refuse.

Construction and maintenance artifacts included three chisels, one each from the slope, cabin and kitchen midden. Several strap fragments were also recovered from the slope area.

A lead bale seal was included in the activities artifacts rather than clothing group where South (1977:95) would put it. On a cotton plantation, such an artifact would be related to the activity of cotton production, rather than being related to clothing. This particular seal was marked "CRJM" and while no exact origin for the initials could be found, it is possible that the "M" could relate to the McIntosh occupation of the site.

#### Furniture Group

Only two artifacts of this group were found, a brass drawer pull from the slave cabin and a brass candlestick base from the slope area (Fig. 36a-b). This paucity of furniture related artifacts is not surprising since most pieces were probably salvaged. It was remarkable, however, to find a whole candlestick base. Its reason for discard was not apparent.

#### Clothing Group

Buttons were the most numerous artifact of this group. The 11 brass buttons recovered were classified as Type

7 and Type 9 with one Type 18 button included (South 1964: 115) (Fig. 37d). There were also nine bone buttons (Fig. 35c), mostly Type 15 (South 1964:115). The buttons came primarily from the slave cabin and the kitchen midden, with only one recovered from the slope area.

Other clothing related artifacts included two brass thimbles and one silver thimble (Fig. 37b). One of the brass and the silver thimble came from the slave cabin. Several buckles and a brass straight pin also were recovered (Fig. 36f and Fig. 37e). The pin appeared to be of two piece manufacture, therefore dating before 1850 (Noel Hume 1969:254).

The other clothing artifacts were three glass beads (Fig. 37a). They are all oblate, wound beads (VanderSleen n.d.:23). One is a multi-stage bead, with red wrapped around white glass and appears much like one recovered from the Guebert site (Good 1972:123). The other two are both blue and not easily classified. All of the beads came from the slave cabin and probably represent some personal adornment item.

#### Personal Group

In this group are included two copper coins. Electrolysis revealed one to be a 1775 British half-penny and the other to be a Connecticut large cent minted in 1788. The Articles of Confederation gave each state the right to mint its own coinage. Connecticut did so until

1789 (Yeoma 1970). The dates of these coins fit in with the known occupation of the site. The 1775 coin undoubtedly would have stayed in circulation for some time.

A slate pencil was recovered from the slave cabin. It is a possibility that the slave occupants, particularly being domestic slaves, knew how to read and write. One pencil is certainly not conclusive, but it is suggestive.

The other personal artifact of note was a copper or brass and glass brooch. This artifact was in very bad shape but a total of 22 cut glass "stones" were recovered one still in the setting. This artifact came from the slope area.

#### Tobacco Pipe Group

There were 15 pipebowls recovered from the site, most from the slave cabin and kitchen. None were diagnostic as to date or maker, although one was relatively whole (Fig. 37c).

There were 68 pipestems found; 27 were 4/64ths in diameter, and 41 were 5/64ths. As previously discussed stem diameter was not felt to accurately assess the date of nineteenth century sites. The kitchen midden had the greatest number of pipestems, 36. The slave cabin had 23 and the slope area, 9.

### Faunal Group

A large faunal collection was available from Sinclair. Forty-five species were identified with 151 minimum number of individuals (MNI). At Sinclair, 55.7% of the identifiable bone was from domestic species (47.0% of the total bone) (Table 25). When the contexts were split into planter and slave, the domestic fauna represented 48.3% and 61.9% of the identifiable bone respectively. The higher percentage of domestic animals at the slave site may be indicative of the fact that slaves were issued rations (Otto 1975:291).

Most of the biomass was concentrated in the kitchen midden which was not surprising. This area also showed the greatest diversity in species utilized (Table 26). The other areas had much smaller biomass totals (Tables 27-29).

A variety of habitats were utilized. Of the non-domestic mammals, most could be found near the marsh or near cultivated fields (Reitz 1970:182-183). Several species of aquatic birds were represented including several Anatidae, Bubulcus ibis, and Rallus longirostris. From the recovered remains, it was not possible to tell whether or not the turkey, Melagris gallopavo, was domesticated. If not, it could be acquired from the forests or fields.

There were a number of turtle species present, with the greatest diversity of species being found in the kitchen

midden (Table 26). Turtles made up 12.1% of the biomass, which made them a substantial part of the diet. The species represented could be found in the marsh (Malaclemys terrapin), fresh water ponds (Trionyx ferox, Dierochelys reticularia, Chelydra serpentina, Chrysemys scripta, Chrysemys sp., Kinosternidae) and on land (Gopherus polyphemus).

The fish appear to be a mixture of both brackish water species found in the tidal creeks and offshore species. While some of the small species were undoubtedly lost because of screen size, fish still made a sizeable contribution to the diet. (12.2%).

### Summary

Sinclair, at this point, appears to represent primarily the upper class planter. The one exception to this is the domestic slave cabin. The artifact profile for the site (Table 30) shows a high percentage of kitchen related artifacts and a lower occurrence of architectural items. This may reflect, in part, the fact that the kitchen midden was excavated, but since areas around three structures were also tested, this bias probably would not be so large. Of the other groups, none is a highly significant contributor.

At the kitchen area, the percentage of kitchen related artifacts increased at the expense of architectural items. This would be expected. At the slope

and slave cabin areas, kitchen related materials decrease and architectural artifacts increase, particularly in the slope area (Table 30). This low percentage of kitchen artifacts at the slope may reflect the fact that this was a non-habitational structure. At the slave cabin, kitchen artifacts are more numerous than architectural, but less numerous than the overall site profile. While this was a habitation structure, the lower number of kitchen remains may be indicative of the lower status of the occupatants and the fact that they had less money to spend (if any) on ceramics and other kitchen related materials.

Both clothing and tobacco related artifacts reach their highest percentage at the slave cabin. This again probably reflects the habitation nature of this structure.

Sinclair should be representative of the material culture found on a medium sized plantation and in addition, the material culture of a domestic slave. Comparisons to the other plantations in Chapter 5 should indicate any areas of difference in these material remains.

#### Jones Creek Settlement

As previously mentioned, the Jones Creek slave settlement was constructed in 1801 (Patterson 1801). There is no information at this point, as to what kind



TABLE 22  
SINCLAIR - CERAMIC TOTALS

Ceramic Type	Slope Area	Main House	Kitchen	Slave Cabin	Totals*	%
whiteware					31	1.7
canton porcelain	7		11	20	76	4.1
mocha			67	2	2	.1
overglazed porcelain	8		36	8	52	2.8
fingerpainted pearlware			2		2	.1
transfer printed pearlware	28	4	78	67	179	9.7
underglazed polychrome						
pearlware	12					
annular pearlware	1	1	26	22	64	3.5
annular creamware			20	5	26	1.4
underglazed blue pearlware	7		23		23	1.3
blue and green edged			23	12	42	2.3
pearlware	21		271	22	319	17.3
pearlware	53	1	337	106	499	27.1
creamware	24	1	303	85	417	22.7
basaltes			1	1	2	.1
redware	1	1			2	.1
agateware	1		3	1	5	.3
leadglazed slipware			10	1	12	.7
plain white delfware				2	2	.1
delfware apothecary jar	7				7	.4
brown saltglazed stoneware	1		5	2	9	.5
grey stoneware			1		1	**
transfer printed whiteware			2		2	.1
white porcelain	3		11	5	23	1.3
spongeware				1	1	**

Table 22 - continued

Ceramic Type	Slope Area	Main House	Kitchen	Slave Cabin	Totals	%
yellowware			1		1	**
other	<u>10</u>	—	<u>14</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>2.1</u>
TOTALS	184	8	1245	376	1839	

## Price Scale Level Totals

Level 1 - 947  
 Level 2 - 373  
 Level 3 - 106  
 Level 4 - 181

\* - includes surface collection

\*\* - less than .1

TABLE 23  
SINCLAIR - CERAMIC FORM DATA

Location	Plate	Bowl	Cup or Bowl	Holloware	Mug or Pitcher	Total Forms
Slope (Test Squares B, C, D, & E) %	7 26.9	9 34.6	8 30.8	2 7.7	1 3.8	26
Kitchen %	111 60.0	27 14.6	16 8.6	24 13.0	7 3.8	185
Slave Cabin %	14 28.6	2 4.1	23 46.9	10 20.4		49
Main House - No identifiable forms						
TOTALS %	132 50.6	38 14.6	47 18.0	36 13.8	8 3.1	261
Total Flatware - 132 (50.6%)						
Total Holloware - 129 (49.4%)						

TABLE 24  
SINCLAIR - CERAMIC FORM DATA BY TYPE\*

Type	Plate	Bowl	Cup or Bowl	Holloware	Mug or Pitcher
canton porcelain		3	1		
overglazed porcelain		3	6	4	
transfer printed pearlware	8	7	13	9	1
underglazed polychrome pearlware		2	14	5	
annular pearlware			1		1
annular creamware					1
underglazed blue pearlware	1	4	7	3	
blue and green edged pearlware					
pearlware	61		1	1	
creamware	31	5	2	3	2
basaltes	34	13	4	9	3
leadglazed slipware		1		1	
yellowware				1	
other	1		3	1	
TOTALS	136	38	52	37	8

\* - includes surface material

TABLE 25  
SINCLAIR - FAUNAL DATA

Species	Weight	%	MNI	%	Biomass	%
<u>Bos taurus</u>	1334.4	22.0	17	11.3	17.71	14.1
<u>Sus scrofa</u>	285.5	4.7	14	9.3	8.41	6.7
<u>Odocoileus virginianus</u>	172.9	2.8	8	5.3	4.47	3.6
<u>Artiodactyla</u>	24.8	.4	2	1.3	1.02	.8
<u>Procyon lotor</u>	10.7	.2	4	2.6	1.15	.9
<u>Didelphis virginianus</u>	5.5	.1	5	3.3	1.00	.8
<u>Sylvilagus palustris</u>	1.6	*	1	.7	.25	.2
<u>Sylvilagus sp.</u>	9.7	.2	5	3.3	1.25	1.0
<u>Lagomorpha</u>	.6	*	1	.7	.17	.1
<u>Scalopus aquaticus</u>	.3	*	1	.7	.13	.1
<u>Sigmodon hispidus</u>	.2	*	**	**	**	**
<u>Rattus sp.</u>	11.0	.2	**	**	**	**
<u>Rodentia</u>	.9	*	**	**	**	**
<u>Uniden. Mammal</u>						
large	2500.2	41.3	--	--	29.30	23.3
small	97.5	1.6	--	--	4.80	3.8
indeterminate	221.1	3.6	--	--	11.52	9.2
cf. <u>Cairina moschatus</u>						
<u>Meleagris gallopavo</u>	3.5	.1	2	1.3	.44	.3
<u>Bubulcus ibis</u>	1.7	*	1	.7	.23	.2
<u>Bubulcus ibis</u>	.2	*	1	.7	.10	.1
cf. <u>Bubulcus ibis</u>	.2	*	1	.7	.10	.1
<u>Gallus gallus</u>	29.8	.5	12	7.9	2.71	2.2
cf. <u>Gallus gallus</u>	1.8	*	2	1.3	.34	.3
<u>Anas cf. strepera</u>	.9	*	1	.7	.18	.1
cf. <u>Anas sp.</u>	1.7	*	1	.7	.23	.2
<u>Anatidae</u>	1.6	*	2	1.3	.33	.3
cf. <u>Rallus longirostris</u>	.4	*	1	.7	.13	.1
<u>Uniden. Aves</u>	108.3	1.8	--	--	8.19	6.5
<u>Bufonidae</u>	6.4	.1	**	**	**	**
<u>Uniden. Amphibia</u>	.3	*	**	**	**	**
<u>Malaclemys terrapin</u>	29.9	.5	7	4.6	2.33	1.9

Table 25 - continued

Species	Weight	%	MNI	%	Biomass	%
<u>Trionyx ferox</u>	4.6	1	2	1.3	.53	.4
<u>Dierochelys reticularia</u>	50.1	.8	7	4.6	2.62	2.1
<u>Chelydra serpentina</u>	41.4	.7	2	1.3	1.07	.9
<u>cf. Chelydra serpentina</u>	3.9	.1	1	.7	.33	.3
<u>Chrysemys sp.</u>	3.4	.1	2	1.3	.51	.4
<u>cf. Chrysemys sp.</u>	.6	*	1	.7	.19	.2
<u>Gopherus polyphemus</u>	18.7	.3	3	2.0	1.04	.8
<u>cf. Gopherus polyphemus</u>	1.8	*	1	.7	.26	.2
<u>Kinosternidae</u>	1.1	*	2	1.3	.37	.3
<u>Kinosternon bauri</u>	.5	*	1	.7	.18	.1
<u>Cheloniidae</u>	.6	*	1	.7	.19	.1
<u>Uniden. Chelonia</u>	122.5	2.0	--	--	6.44	5.1
<u>Alligator mississippiensis</u>	1.0	*	1	.7	.10	.1
<u>Uniden. Squamata</u>	1.5	*	**	**	**	**
<u>Uniden. Chondrichthyes</u>	.7	*	1	.7	.10	.1
<u>Bagre marinus</u>	8.0	.1	6	4.0	1.16	.9
<u>Arius felis</u>	.8	*	1	.7	.17	.1
<u>Ariidae</u>	7.3	.1	8	5.3	1.27	1.0
<u>Archosargus probatocephalus</u>	21.6	.4	10	6.6	1.73	1.4
<u>Pogonias cromis</u>	24.8	.4	4	2.6	1.31	1.0
<u>Scianops ocellatus</u>	3.2	.1	1	.7	.35	.3
<u>Scianidae</u>	.8	*	3	2.0	.48	.4
<u>Lepisosteus sp.</u>	1.5	*	2	1.3	.38	.3
<u>Paralichthyes lethostigma</u>	.6	*	1	.7	.17	.1
<u>Paralichthyes albigutta</u>	.6	*	1	.7	.17	.1
<u>cf. Mugil cephalus</u>	.1	*	1	.7	.10	.1
<u>Uniden. Osteichthyes</u>	237.5	3.9	--	--	8.19	6.5
<u>Uniden. bone</u>	637.9	10.5	--	--	--	--
TOTALS	6060.7	99.9	151	100.4	125.80	100.1

Table 25 - continued

	Weight	%	MNI	%	Biomass	%
Domestic	1655.0	27.3			29.61	23.5
including large mammal	4155.2	68.5			58.91	46.8
Non-domestic	1046.5	17.3			47.18	37.5
Indeterminate	967.3	16.0			19.71	15.7

## Number of fragments identified

Mammal	228
Aves	47
Reptilia	102
Osteichthyes	86
Total	461

\* - less than .1

\*\* - considered non-food item

TABLE 26  
SINCLAIR - FAUNAL DATA  
KITCHEN AREA

Species	Weight	%	MNI	%	Biomass	%
<u>Bos taurus</u>	680.0	15.1	9	9.1	8.51	11.8
<u>Sus scrofa</u>	183.7	4.1	6	6.1	3.40	4.7
<u>Odocoileus virginianus</u>	151.1	3.4	5	5.1	2.95	4.1
<u>Artiodactyla</u>	24.8	.6	2	2.0	1.02	1.4
<u>Procyon lotor</u>	7.9	.2	2	2.0	.69	.9
<u>Didelphis virginianus</u>	4.4	.1	3	3.0	.68	.9
<u>Sylvilagus palustris</u>	1.6	*	1	1.0	.25	.3
<u>Sylvilagus sp.</u>	2.8	.1	2	2.0	.31	.4
<u>Uniden. Mammal</u>						
large	2081.7	46.2	--	--	16.76	23.2
small	82.1	1.8	--	--	2.45	3.4
indeterminate	152.8	3.4	--	--	5.91	8.2
<u>Gallus gallus</u>	13.8	.3	7	7.1	1.37	1.9
<u>Meleagris gallopavo</u>	1.7	*	1	1.0	.23	.3
<u>cf. Cairina moschatus</u>	3.5	.1	2	2.0	.44	.6
<u>Anas cf. strepera</u>	.9	*	1	1.0	.18	.2
<u>cf. Anas sp.</u>	1.7	*	1	1.0	.23	.3
<u>Anatidae</u>	1.6	*	2	2.0	.33	.5
<u>Bubulcus ibis</u>	.2	*	1	1.0	.10	.1
<u>cf. Rallus longirostris</u>	.4	*	1	1.0	.13	.2
<u>Uniden. Aves</u>	46.8	1.0	--	--	2.65	3.7
<u>Chrysemys sp.</u>	3.4	.1	2	2.0	.51	.7
<u>cf. Chrysemys sp.</u>	.6	*	1	1.0	.19	.3
<u>Gopherus polyphemus</u>	18.7	.4	3	3.0	1.04	1.4
<u>cf. Gopherus polyphemus</u>	1.8	*	1	1.0	.26	.4
<u>Trionyx ferox</u>	.7	*	1	1.0	.20	.3
<u>Chelydra serpentina</u>	41.4	.9	2	2.0	1.07	1.5
<u>cf. Chelydra serpentina</u>	3.9	.1	2	2.0	.33	.5
<u>Dierochelys reticularia</u>	50.1	1.1	7	7.1	2.62	3.6



Table 26 - continued

Species	Weight	%	MNI	%	Biomass	%
<u>Kinosternon bauri</u>	.5	*	1	1.0	.18	.2
<u>Kinosternidae</u>	1.1	*	2	2.0	.37	.5
<u>Malaclemys terrapin</u>	25.9	.6	5	5.1	1.64	2.3
<u>Chelonidae</u>	.6	*	1	1.0	.19	.3
<u>Uniden. Chelonia</u>	92.6	2.1	--	--	3.80	5.3
<u>Scianops ocellatus</u>	3.2	.1	1	1.0	.35	.5
<u>Pogonias cromis</u>	24.8	.6	4	4.0	1.31	1.8
<u>Sciaenidae</u>	.2	*	1	1.0	.15	.2
<u>Archosargus probatocephalus</u>	16.6	.4	7	7.1	1.17	1.6
<u>Bagre marinus</u>	6.5	.1	4	4.0	.85	1.2
<u>Ariidae</u>	7.2	.2	7	7.1	1.20	1.7
<u>Paralichthyes lethostigma</u>	.6	*	1	1.0	.17	.2
<u>Paralichthyes albigutta</u>	.6	*	1	1.0	.17	.2
<u>Lepisosteus sp.</u>	1.1	*	1	1.0	.22	.3
<u>Uniden. Osteichthyes</u>	227.7	5.1	--	--	5.58	7.7
<u>Uniden. bone</u>	533.3	11.8	--	--	--	--
TOTALS	4506.6	99.9	99	99.8	72.16	99.8

\* - less than .1

TABLE 27  
SINCLAIR - FAUNAL DATA  
TEST SQUARES B, C, D, & E

Species	Weight	%	MNI	%	Biomass	%
<u>Bos taurus</u>	513.7	59.0	6	20.0	6.89	25.6
<u>Sus scrofa</u>	44.1	5.1	4	13.3	1.93	7.2
<u>Odocoileus virginianus</u>	9.8	1.1	1	3.3	.50	1.9
<u>Procyon lotor</u>	2.8	.3	2	6.7	.46	1.7
<u>Sylvilagus sp.</u>	5.8	.7	2	6.7	.62	2.3
<u>Scalopus aquaticus</u>	.3	*	1	3.3	.13	.5
<u>Rattus Sp.</u>	9.4	1.1	**	**	**	**
Uniden. Rodentia	.9	.1	**	**	**	**
Uniden. Mammal						
large	151.9	17.4	--	--	5.87	21.9
small	3.7	.4	--	--	.84	3.1
indeterminate	18.4	2.1	--	--	2.02	7.5
<u>Gallus gallus</u>	15.3	1.8	4	13.3	1.19	4.4
cf. <u>Gallus gallus</u>	1.8	.2	2	6.7	.34	1.3
cf. <u>Bubulcus ibis</u>	.2	*	1	3.3	.10	.4
Uniden. Aves	35.8	4.1	--	--	3.21	12.0
Bufonidae	6.3	.7	**	**	**	**
Uniden. Amphibia	.3	*	**	**	**	**
<u>Malaclemys terrapin</u>	.8	.1	1	3.3	.21	.8
cf. <u>Malaclemys terrapin</u>	.5	.1	1	3.3	.18	.7
Uniden. Chelonia	5.4	.6	--	--	.70	2.6
Uniden. Squamata	1.5	.2	**	**	**	**
Sciaenidae	.2	*	1	3.3	.15	.6
<u>Archosargus probatocephalus</u>	.3	*	1	3.3	.16	.6
<u>Bagre marinus</u>	1.1	.1	1	3.3	.19	.7
<u>Arius felis</u>	.8	.1	1	3.3	.17	.6
cf. <u>Mugil cephalus</u>	.1	*	1	3.3	.10	.4
Uniden. Osteichthyes	2.0	.2	--	--	.91	3.4
Uniden. bone	37.9	4.3	--	--	--	--
TOTALS	871.3	99.9	30	99.9	26.87	100.0

\* - less than .1; \*\* - considered non-food item

TABLE 28  
SINCLAIR - FAUNAL DATA  
DOMESTIC SLAVE HOUSE

Species	Weight	%	MNI	%	Biomass	%
<u>Bos taurus</u>	140.7	25.0	2	11.8	2.31	11.3
<u>Sus scrofa</u>	49.3	8.8	3	17.7	2.61	12.7
<u>Odocoileus virginianus</u>	7.6	1.4	1	5.9	.65	3.2
<u>Didelphis virginianus</u>	1.1	.2	2	11.8	.32	1.6
<u>Sylvilagus sp.</u>	1.1	.2	2	11.8	.32	1.6
<u>Rattus sp.</u>	1.6	.3	**	**	**	**
<u>Uniden. Mammal</u>						
large	197.1	35.1	--	--	4.68	22.8
small	9.0	1.6	--	--	1.05	5.1
indeterminate	40.4	7.2	--	--	2.72	13.3
<u>Gallus gallus</u>	.6	.1	1	5.9	.15	.7
<u>Uniden. Aves</u>	22.9	4.1	--	--	2.05	10.0
<u>Bufonidae</u>	.1	*	**	**	**	**
<u>Malaclemys terrapin</u>	2.7	.5	1	5.9	.30	1.5
<u>Uniden. Chelonia</u>	14.9	2.7	--	--	1.06	5.2
<u>Uniden. Chondrichthyes</u>	.7	.1	**	**	.10	.5
<u>Sciaenidae</u>	.4	.1	1	5.9	.18	.9
<u>Archosargus probatocephalus</u>	4.7	.8	2	11.8	.40	1.9
<u>Ariidae</u>	.1	*	1	5.9	.07	.3
<u>Lepisosteus sp.</u>	.4	.1	1	5.9	.16	.8
<u>Uniden Osteichthyes</u>	6.9	1.2	--	--	1.49	7.3
<u>Uniden. bone</u>	59.5	10.6	--	--	--	--
TOTALS	561.8	100.0	17	100.0	20.52	100.1

\* - less than .1

\*\* - considered a non-food item

TABLE 29  
SINCLAIR - FAUNAL DATA  
MAIN HOUSE

Species	Weight	%	MNI	%	Biomass	%
<u>Sus scrofa</u>	8.4	7.0	1	16.7	.47	7.5
<u>Odocolleus virginianus</u>	4.4	3.6	1	16.7	.37	5.9
<u>Lagomorpha</u>	.6	.5	1	16.7	.17	2.7
Uniden. Mammal						
large	69.5	57.5	--	--	1.99	31.8
small	2.7	2.2	--	--	.46	7.4
indeterminate	9.5	7.9	--	--	.87	13.9
Uniden. Aves	2.8	2.3	--	--	.28	4.5
<u>Trionyx ferox</u>	3.9	3.2	1	16.7	.33	5.3
<u>Uniden. Chelonia</u>	9.6	7.9	--	--	.88	14.1
<u>Alligator mississippiensis</u>	1.0	.8	1	16.7	.10	1.6
<u>Bagre marinus</u>	.4	.3	1	16.7	.12	1.9
Uniden. Osteichthyes	.9	.7	--	--	.21	3.4
Uniden. bone	7.2	6.0	--	--	--	--
TOTALS	120.9	100.0	6	100.2	6.25	100.0

TABLE 30  
SINCLAIR ARTIFACT PROFILE

Artifact Group	Kitchen Quan.	%	Cabin Quan.	%	Slope Quan.	%	Total* Quan.	%
Kitchen	1975	72.9	550	56.0	354	44.9	2923	63.7
Architectural	670	24.7	375	38.2	413	52.4	1525	33.2
Activities	5	.2	8	.8	5	.4	18	.4
Arms	1	**	1	.1	1	.1	3	.1
Furniture			1	.1	1	.1	2	.1
Clothing	11	.4	16	1.6	3	.4	30	.7
Personal	2	.1	2	.2	3	.4	7	.2
Tobacco Pipes	44	1.6	29	2.9	10	1.3	83	1.8
TOTALS	2708		982		790		4591	

\* - includes surface and main house material

\*\* - less than .1

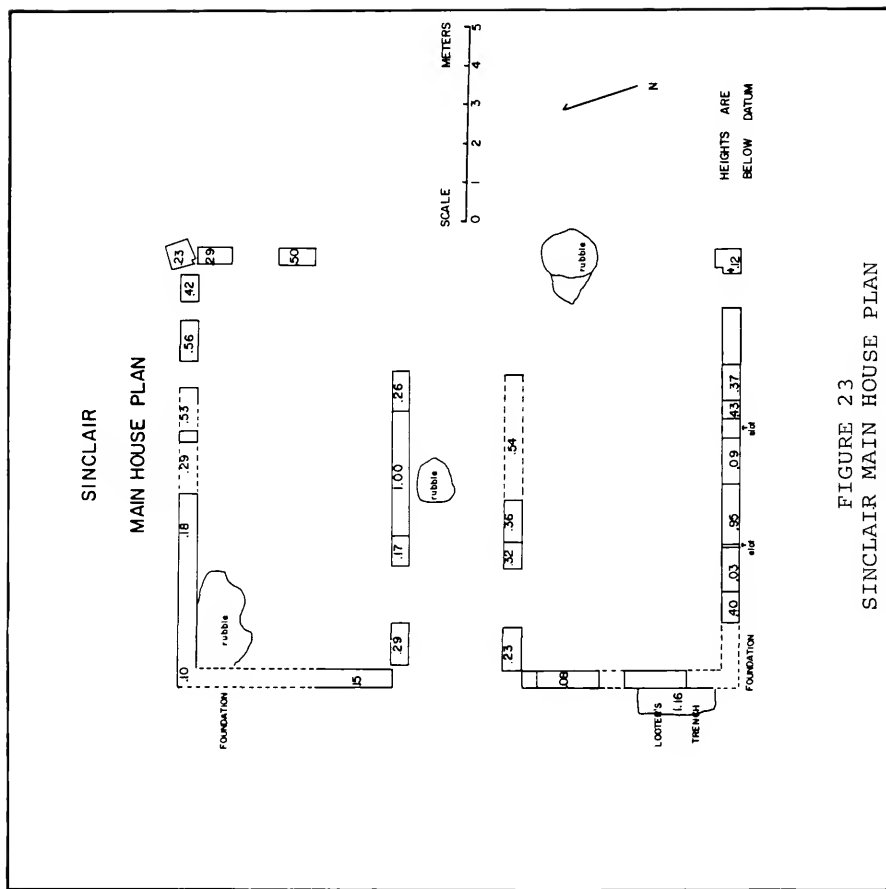


FIGURE 24

SINCLAIR MAIN HOUSE RUINS





FIGURE 25

SINCLAIR MAIN HOUSE RUINS



FIGURE 26

SINCLAIR - MCINTOSH GRAVES



FIGURE 27

SINCLAIR - MCINTOSH GRAVES



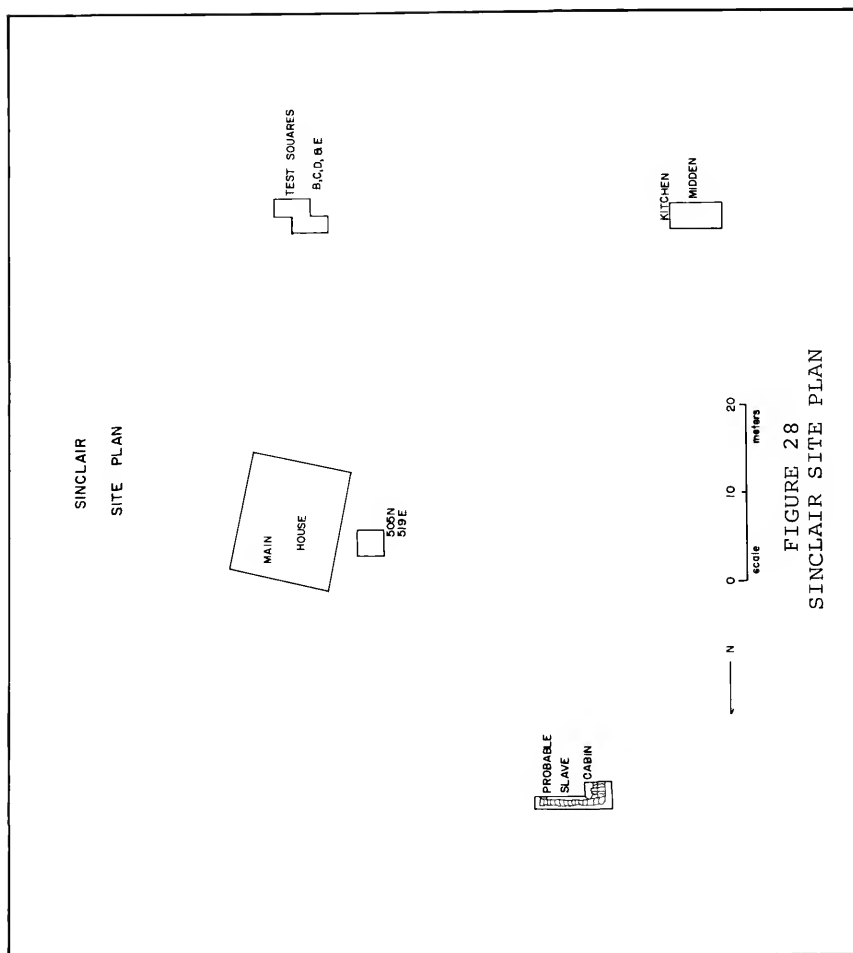


FIGURE 29

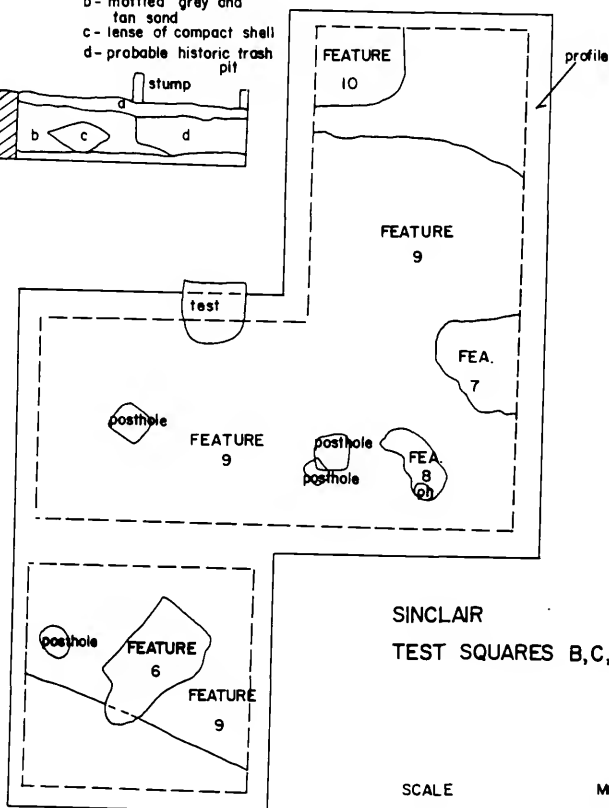
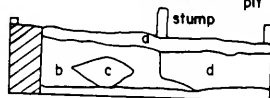
SINCLAIR - TEST SQUARES B, C, D, & E  
SLOPE AREA



## SOUTH PROFILE

## TEST SQUARE E

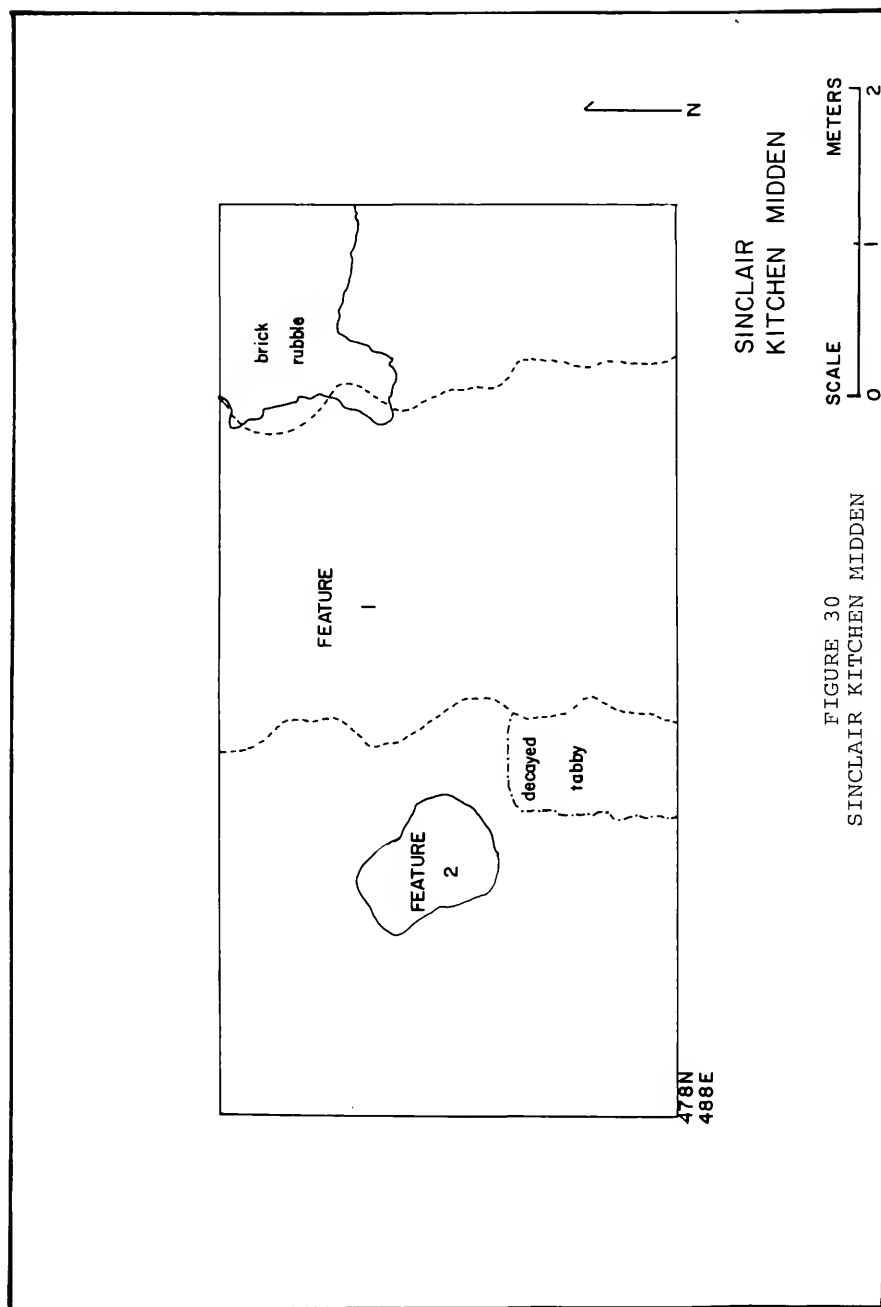
- a - modern humus
- b - mottled grey and tan sand
- c - lense of compact shell
- d - probable historic trash pit



SINCLAIR  
TEST SQUARES B, C, D, & E

SCALE METERS  
0 1 2

← N



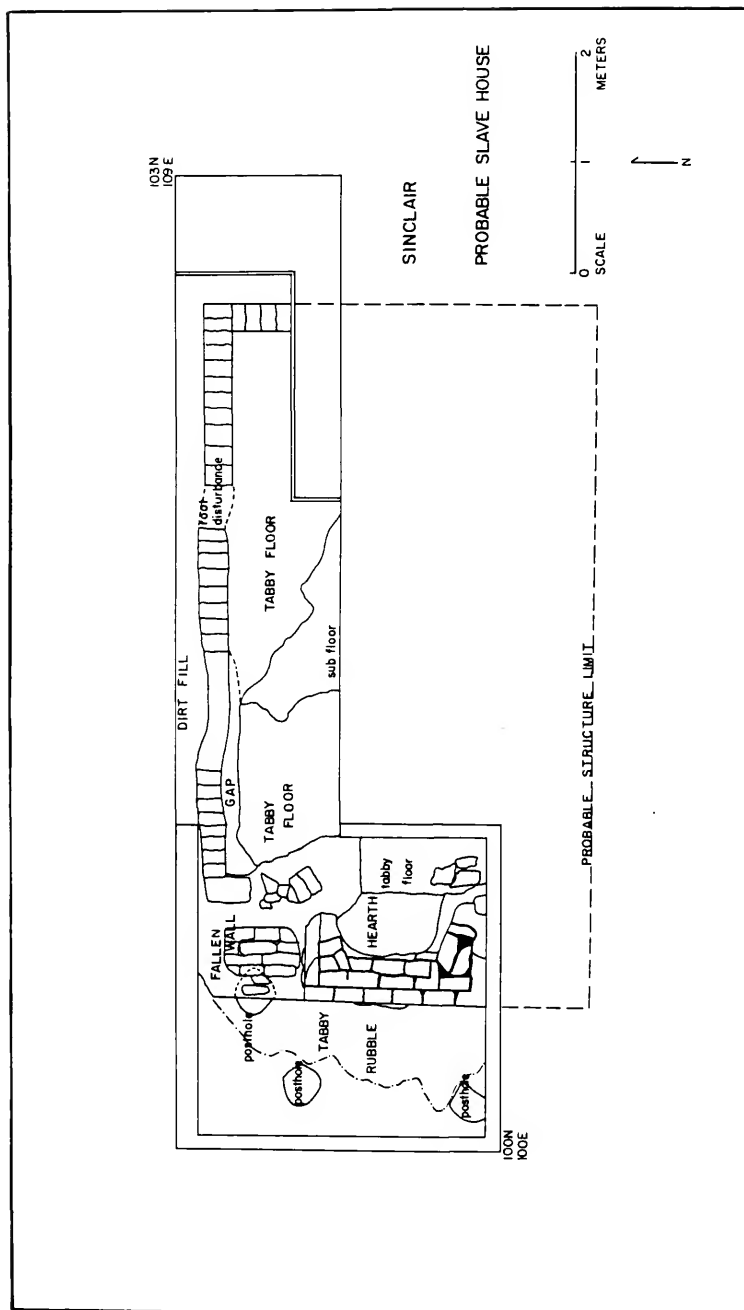


FIGURE 31  
SINCLAIR PROBABLE SLAVE HOUSE

FIGURE 32  
SINCLAIR - CERAMICS

- A) Creamware Plate
- B) Delft Apothecary Jar
- C) Porcelain Tea Bowl
- D) Creamware Cup
- E) Canton Porcelain
- F) Overglazed Porcelain



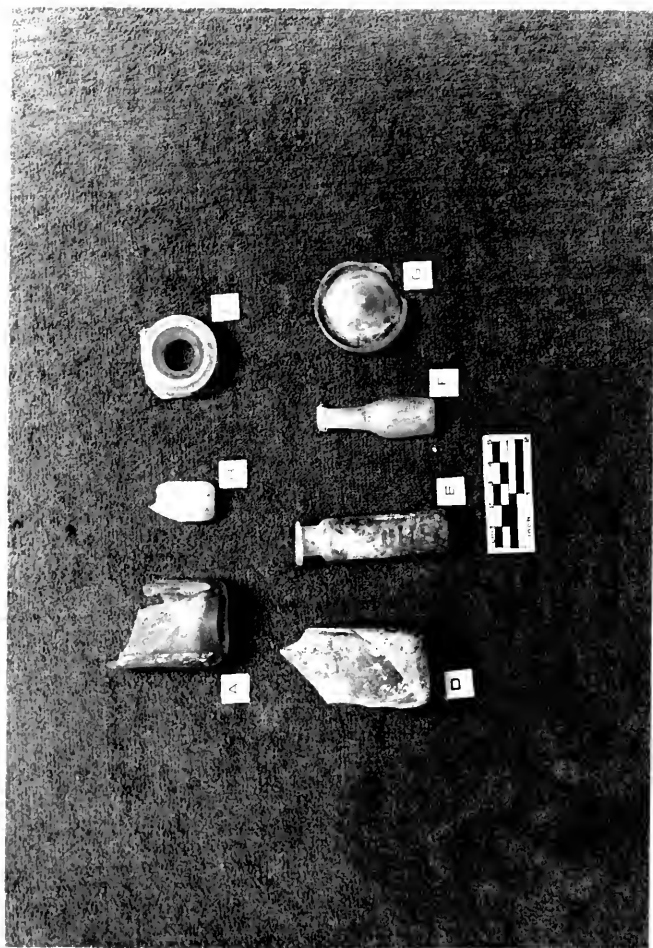


FIGURE 33  
SINCLAIR - PHARMACEUTICAL BOTTLES

FIGURE 34  
SINCLAIR - METAL ARTIFACTS

- A) Skillet Handle
- B) Shutter Pintle
- C) H-Hinge
- D) Mortise Chisel
- E) Key
- F) Knife

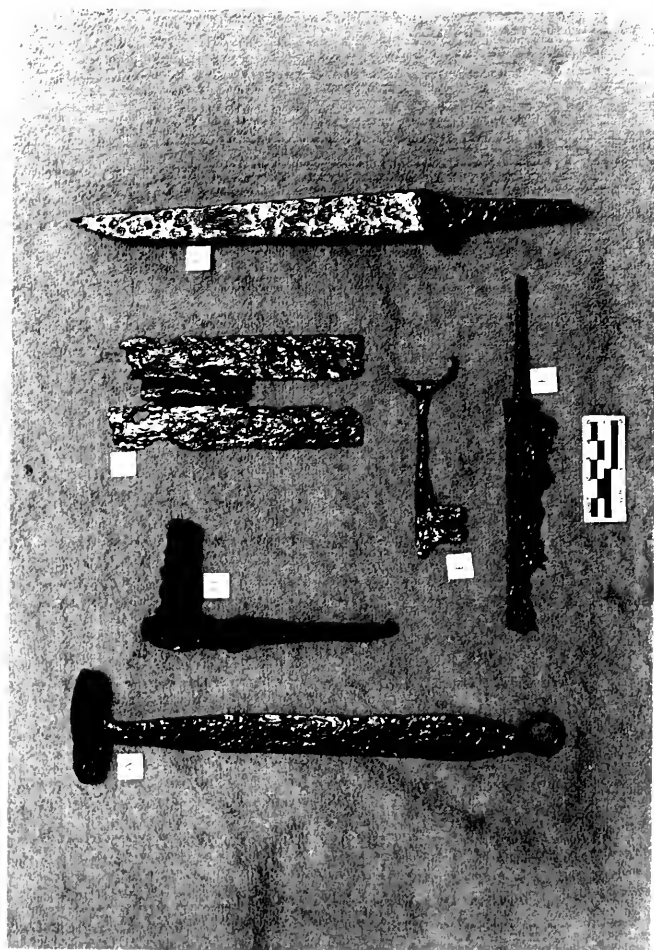




FIGURE 35  
SINCLAIR - BONE ARTIFACTS

- A) Bone Handled Fork
- B) Bone Handled Cutlery
- C) Bone Buttons

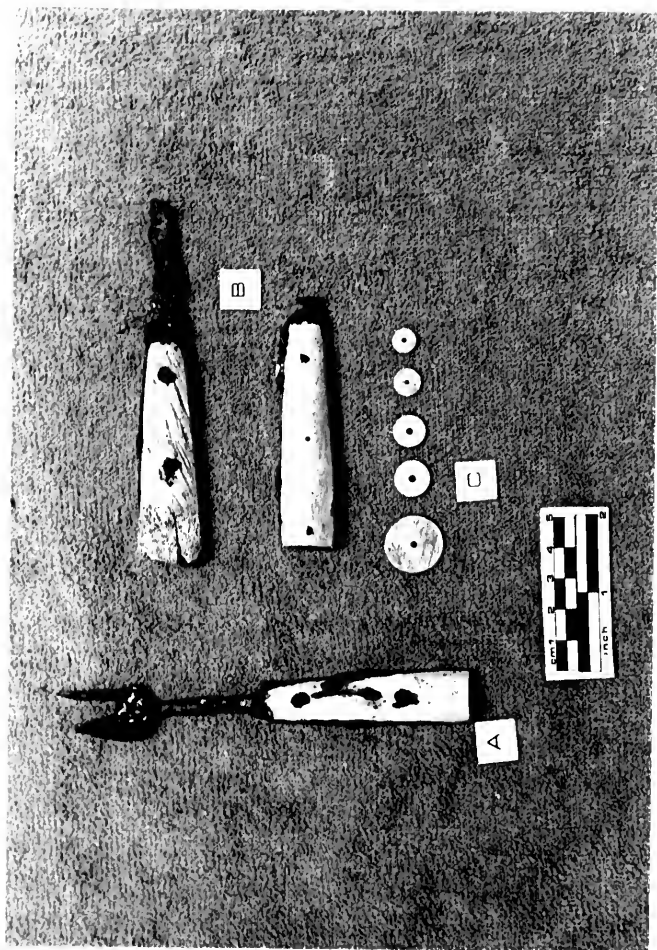


FIGURE 36  
SINCLAIR - METAL ARTIFACTS

- A) Brass Candlestick Base
- B) Drawer Pull
- C) Unknown
- D) Silver Spoon
- E) Cotton Bale Seal
- F) Silver Buckle
- G) Silver Token (?)

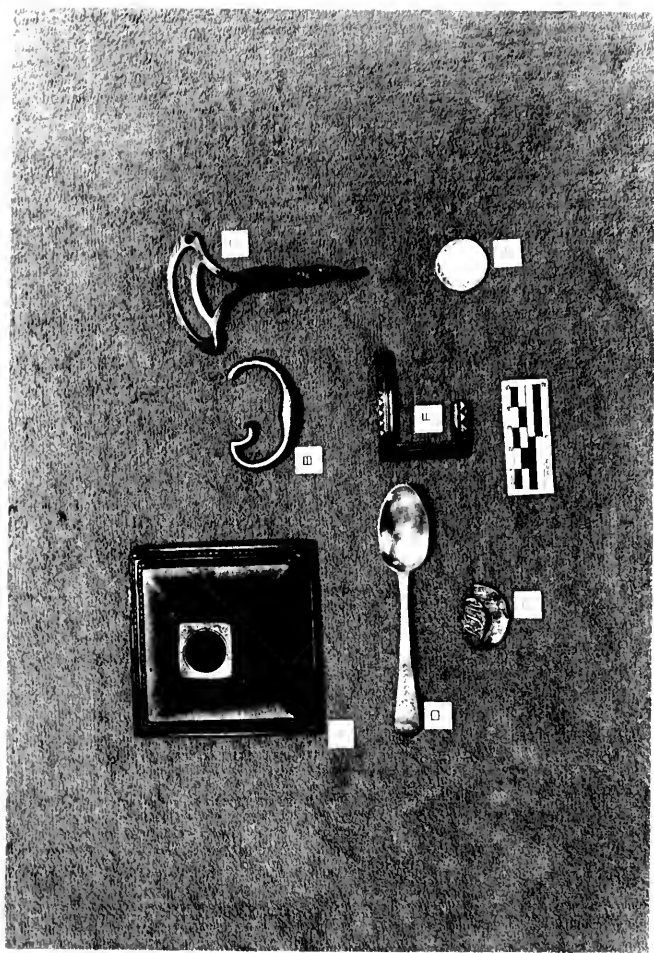


FIGURE 37  
SINCLAIR - CLOTHING AND TOBACCO ARTIFACTS

- A) Beads
- B) Thimbles
- C) White Clay Pipe
- D) Brass Buttons
- E) Brass Straight Pin

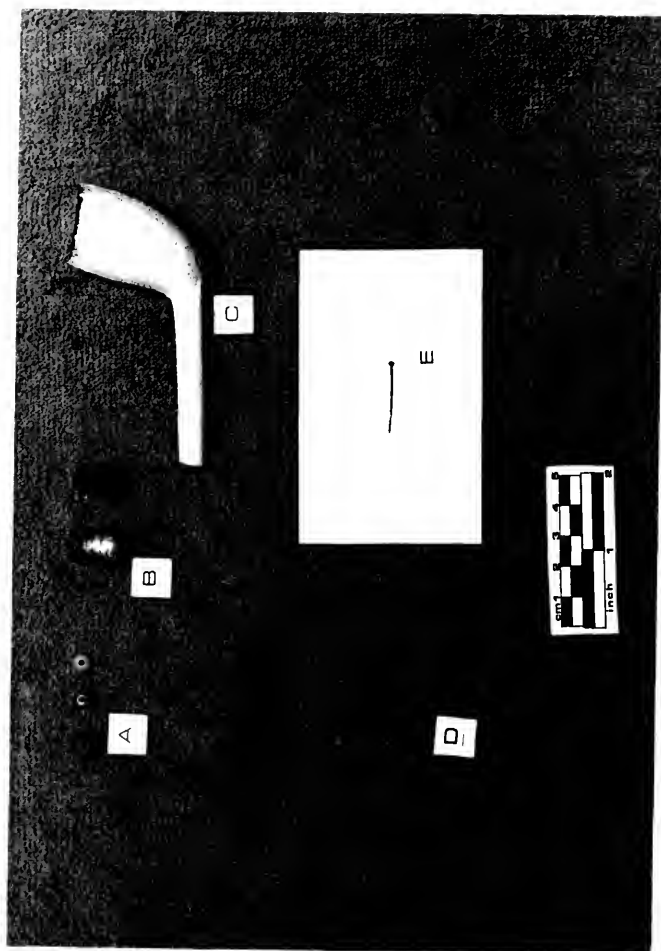




FIGURE 38  
SINCLAIR - BROAD HOE

and how many structures were erected. By 1815, we know there was a cotton barn and seven other buildings at the site (Wister Papers 1815). No other inventories listing buildings are available until after the Civil War. The 1869 U.S.G.S. coastal survey map shows five structures at the site, four on the west side and one on the east side (U.S.G.S. 1869). In 1877, the Leighs noted that four of the slave cabins at the site were occupied, two of the duplexes and two of unknown size (Butler Papers 1877). The soil survey map of Glynn County, made in 1911, again shows five structures in the same arrangement as the 1869 map (Long 1912).

When the site was surveyed, 11 possible structures were located. At least four of these were duplex cabins. The other buildings included a cotton barn, a probable tool/storage shed, and five buildings of unknown function. The two structures east of the road (Fig. 39) had been recently looted. Both appeared to be chimney bases which would suggest habitation structures. No testing was done in this area. It should be noted however, that these hearth bases were made of red brick, rather than tabby brick as all the other chimneys on the site are made of. This construction could suggest that these buildings were built later (post 1830) after tabby making had largely ceased (Gritzner 1978:110). At any rate, at least one of the buildings was present before 1869 and



is therefore almost certainly antebellum. Their location across the road sets them apart from the other structures, and it is possible that they served some special function. In 1824, Roswell King, Jr., discussed the possibility of building a hospital at Jones (King 1824c). This could be the origin for these hearth bases.

The other structures of unknown use (#6, #7, and #8) consisted primarily of amorphous brick rubble. Structure 7 was under a very large oak tree. Structure 8 was different in that it appeared to be a raised tabby hearth. No testing was done in the area but a surface collection yielded a large quantity of nails and little else. Being close to the cotton barn, it is possible that this was some sort of administrative or support building. Such an arrangement was common on plantations (Prunty 1955:465). An alternative explanation may be that this was the slave driver's house. One letter seems to indicate that the driver had been given a better house than the other slaves (King 1806). The practice of giving the slave drivers additional or better things was common on most plantations (Owens 1976:121; VanDeberg 1979). Since there was no testing, this question could not be resolved.

Testing was done at or in the vicinity of all the other structures. The nature of each will be discussed separately. In addition, some non-structural areas were

tested in a search for trash deposits. This was basically an employment of Fairbanks' backyard archeology strategy (Fairbanks 1977).

As expected, the workers at Jones were primarily engaged in cotton production, but one letter indicates that they may have also been engaged in sugar cane cultivation (King 1813c). Production at Jones varied; some years were very bad (68 lbs. of cotton per acre), while others were excellent (228 lbs. of cotton per acre) (Butler Papers). Evidently some of the fields at Jones were too remote to make the use of marsh mud as a fertilizer practicable (King 1828b). This would undoubtedly have affected the productivity of the land. The 1911 soil survey of the area notes that none of the land is particularly fertile and that it would need fertilizer (Long 1912).

There are no population figures given specifically for Jones. Totals were usually given for Hampton as a whole or given by settlement number. No correlation of numbers with actual settlements could be determined. Inference from the documents suggests that Jones is settlement #2 which in 1811 had 54 inhabitants (King 1811). No other population figures could be found.

#### Jones Excavations - Cabin 4

Cabin 4 (Fig. 39, Struc. 4) was one of the slave duplexes at Jones. While the hearth had been reduced

to ground level in this cabin, Cabin 3's (Struc. 3) chimney stood to full height allowing a better estimation of Cabin 4's original height and size (Figs. 40 and 41). The excavations at Cabin 4 concentrated on finding the original wall lines and determining the structural arrangement of the building. Cabin size was 14 X 4 meters (46 X 13 feet), of 7 X 4 meters for each dwelling unit. As Figure 42 indicates, the cabins were of frame construction with posts placed in a wall trench (Figs. 43-45). Because the level of the hearth was almost even with the ground, it seems almost certain that the floors were not raised and that they were dirt rather than wooden. The presence of artifacts pressed into the dirt reinforced this idea.

Two postholes outside the wall trench suggested a possible door placement. The location of a door hinge in approximately the same place on the other side of the duplex seems to confirm this idea. No information on the placement of windows could be obtained.

The hearth, while primarily of tabby brick, has a red brick firebox. Such is also the case with the standing chimney. Tabby brick could not stand severe heat and so was not used for this area.

It is thought that this cabin would have the same general layout as the cabin in Figures 3 and 4, despite the different construction materials. From the height of the chimney and by comparison, it is almost certain

that these duplexes had a loft above the main floor. This was probably used for sleeping. There was no evidence of any internal division.

The cabins at Jones do not seem to be as well made or comfortable as those at the main complex or others in the coastal region (Mullins 1978; Otto 1975; Ascher and Fairbanks 1971). Fanny Kemble notes that they are not as well made as those on Butler Island (Kemble 1961:219). She also noted that the cabins at Jones were overcrowded (Kemble 1961:275). If there were only four duplex cabins in 1811, with a population of 54, this would mean there were 6.75 persons per cabin. This figure is considerably above the average of 5.2 (Fogel and Engerman 1974:115). It is possible that some of the other structural ruins (i.e. #8) were dwellings, but this could not be determined.

#### Jones Excavations - Tool/Storage Shed

When excavations began on this structure it was thought that this might be some sort of food storage facility such as a root cellar (Figs. 46-49). This idea was modified to the belief that this may have been a tool and security storage building. It is also possible that at some point this structure served as a smokehouse.

The smokehouse theory was arrived at because of a large ash feature (Fea. 2) on the exterior of the building (Figs. 47 and 50). A cast iron stove plate was

recovered from this feature, along with a fairly large quantity of bone. The interior of the structure had been looted and therefore it was impossible to see any evidence of a fired area such as would be expected in a smokehouse.

On the north side of the structure were several postholes (Fig. 46 and 47). It seems likely that there was some sort of shed extension. The main part of the building had a tabby brick base with a frame structure on top. Several of the wooden posts were recovered (Fig. 47).

Features 6 and 7 were both trash deposits. Feature 6, at least, is probably the result of the excavation of the interior of the structure. Feature 7 may be a natural trash accumulation which occurred during the structure's use.

The reason for suggesting that this building may have acted as a security storage area was the presence of several locks and a high concentration of pharmaceutical bottles. The presence of such structures was indicated in several letters (King 1806b). Drugs, along with some tools, were probably kept under lock.

#### Jones Excavations - Road (342N,405E)

In excavating an area near Cabin 2, a possible road was intersected. This feature was suggested by two dark parallel trenches (Figs. 51-53). No documentary

evidence for this road could be found, but this is not surprising. It was probably an approach path to the cabins.

This feature contained a large quantity of trash. The lack of trash pits at the site had been puzzling. It seems that rather than being deposited as pits, trash was being swept out the door and into the yard in a more random fashion.

#### Jones Excavations - 422N,418E

This was, perhaps, the most enigmatic area excavated. One of the small (50 X 50 cm.) survey tests had encountered a complete groundstone celt, one-half of a creamware plate and a hoe. To remove the hoe, the unit was expanded. As the celt was on top of the plate and hoe, it must represent an heirloomed or collected item. A rather complex feature emerged in the square. It appeared to be some type of water sorted pit (Figs. 54 and 55). Bone recovered from this feature was highly calcinated as if it had been burned severely or been in contact with a large quantity of calcium or lime (Reitz personal communication). Burning is probably the more favored explanation. This suggested two possible origins for the feature, a trash pit or a privy. At Cannon's Point several privy pits were reported at the southern group of cabins. These were circular with straight sides and up to 1.63 meters deep. They had notable concentrations of lime and household debris

including hearth deposits (charcoal, ash, etc.). Feature 13 did not appear to have straight sides, but the survey test had disturbed part of the feature. It extended 1.20 meters below ground surface.

It is suggested that this feature may have, at one point, been a privy pit. It was later abandoned and filled in with trash.

#### Jones Excavations - 430N,414E

This square was excavated in two stages. The first square, a 1 X 1 meter unit, was opened to remove what appeared to be a whole bottle emerging from the ground. The quantity of artifacts suggested that the square be expanded.

A whole bottle marked "C.Ellis and Co., Philadelphia" was recovered. The bottle appeared to be a two-piece mold construction and therefore was made between 1845 and 1913 (Newman 1970). This date would overlap with the known occupation of the site and its origin of Philadelphia is interesting in light of the fact that this was the Butler's home. From its size and shape, it appeared to be a pharmaceutical bottle.

No features were present in this square. Again the trash appeared to be deposited in a scattered fashion.

#### Jones Excavations - 409N,382E

On the west side of the site, there was a pronounced ridge. An excavation unit was placed there to try and determine if this was a natural feature. Several postholes

and a pit of unknown function were encountered (Figs. 56 and 57). These features appeared to be antebellum in origin but no reason for their presence could be determined. It seem likely that they represent a temporary structure of some kind. One suggestion might be an outdoor cooking area. It seems probable that such temporary features would be common on this kind of site with crowded conditions making it necessary to do many things outside.

#### Jones Excavations - 438N,421E

The presence of a shell pile suggested an area of trash deposition (Fig. 58). Excavations revealed an area almost totally devoid of artifactual material. It was a shell heap with an occasional inclusion of an artifact. The only explanation for such a deposit seemed to be that the shells were being deliberately separated and saved. Fanny Kemble complained of the unsightly shell heaps she found at all of the slave settlements (Kemble 1961:317). At Jones there were no nearby large shell middens, making tabby construction more difficult as shell would have to be brought from some distance. (The nearest shell midden is two miles away.) It would be logical, then, to save any shell to use for construction purposes. It is also possible that the shells were being used as fertilizer for the fields or gardens. Such a practice was reported from Cannon's Point (McFarlane 1975).



### Jones Excavations - Well

A large depression at the northern end of the site suggested the presence of a well. It was decided to test this feature as wells often prove to be an excellent trash pit, being filled with debris upon their abandonment. Unfortunately, such did not prove to be the case with this well. It was almost completely sterile.

Construction of this well followed a pattern similar to others found on the coast (Fairbanks 1974; Otto 1975). A large round well pit was excavated (Fig. 59) to a depth of almost three meters below ground surface. A square casing was placed in this pit, extending below the water table (Fig. 60). It is possible that barrels were then placed inside this casing as at the northern group of slave cabins at Cannon's Point, but there was no evidence for this. Well timbers were preserved for the last 40 cm. of the well (Fig. 61). Water table was reached 18 cm. from the bottom (Fig. 62).

The reason for the abandonment of this well is not clear. It may be possible that this is a late addition to the site as an 1866 nickel was found in the first level. Perhaps it was abandoned when the site was.

### Jones Excavations - Cotton Barn

One of the most remarkable tabby structures on St. Simon's, the Jones cotton barn, stands almost totally intact for one story (Fig. 63). There was almost certainly

a second, wooden story, but nothing remains of this. The date of construction for this structure is not known. There was a cotton born in 1801 (Patterson 1801) and the cotton barn on the 1815 inventory is the same dimensions as the present building (Wister Papers 1815), but the construction features of this barn suggest a later date (Fairbanks personal communication).

In each corner of the building are iron supports (Fig. 64). One of these supports was removed for detailed examination. It proved to be a warped and discarded cast iron grate bar (Fig. 65). These were used in large furnaces as the place where fuel was burned. They were separated slightly to let ash fall through. Evidently, under high heat, these particular bars warped and were recycled as supports. It is possible that they came from one of Butler's rice mills (Wister Papers 1851).

This tabby construction also employed the use of wooden posts for support (Fig. 63). Several of these posts were charred in place, suggesting that perhaps the barn had burned.

The northern room had a raised tabby floor and was probably used as the processing wing. It also showed evidence of paneling as there were slots for firring strips (Fig. 66). The southern room had an earthen floor and the wide door suggests that this was the storage room. The wall between the rooms had no door, but instead what appears to be a passing window. There were a number of windows in the building. There is some

evidence that these windows may have been glazed (King 1804).

In 1830, Roswell King noted that he had just strengthened all of the barns on Butler Island with iron straps (King 1830). This suggests a possible time for the construction of this particular barn at Jones. The grate bars were cast in the tabby (Fig. 64). This would suggest that this barn replaced an older structure of the same size.

#### Kitchen Artifact Group - Ceramics

Kitchen artifacts, including ceramics, are not particularly well represented at Jones. Most of the ceramics came from three areas, Cabin 4, the road (342N,405E), and the possible privy (422N,418E). The most common ceramic type was plain pearlware (Table 31). When the ceramics are grouped into pricing levels, it can be seen that the least expensive ceramic types are by far the most common (Levels 1 and 2, 78.2%). This would be expected on a lower status site.

Ceramic form was dominated by hollowares (81.0%) (Tables 32 and 33). Most of the flatwares occurred in blue and green edged or plain pearlwares. The hollowares are most common in annular pearlwares. This reinforces Otto's finding that lower status sites contain a high proportion of annular hollowares (Otto 1975:220, 1977:107).

One invoice suggests that Butler was occasionally providing his slaves with ceramics. In 1811, Butler

purchased 50 crates of earthenwares and 300 stone jugs from Liverpool (King 1811). Other than these occasional purchases by the estate, it seems likely that the slaves may have been purchasing some of their own ceramics (King 1816b). The variety of types suggests a heterogeneous mixture rather than sets of ceramics.

The MCD for the site is 1804.1, a date within the early occupation range of the site. The well yields the latest MCD (1814.3), while the possible privy has the earliest date (1796.9).

Of note among the ceramics is a specimen of "combed annular ware" (Fig. 67d). This type has not been previously described in the literature (Porter 1953; Van Rensselaer 1978). It appears to be simply another variation of annular wares, looking much like combed slipware.

Also unique among the ceramics was one sherd of what appears to be a Westerwald chamber pot. The design is the same as one found in Colonial Williamsburg (Noel-Hume 1967:352). These were produced into the last quarter of the eighteenth century and it is possible that one could have been in use at least during the early years of the Jones settlement.

The ceramics present a rather interesting picture, with a wide range of types which are both early and late. The whitewares and spongewares are present up to and

after the Civil War (Price 1979:19,22). Ceramic form is dominated by bowls and utilitarian forms. Whether the slave or the planter were purchasing the ceramics, they were getting the cheapest types and forms.

#### Kitchen Group Artifacts - Pharmaceutical Bottles

Pharmaceutical bottles at Jones were concentrated almost exclusively at the tool/storage shed with 100 of the 117 fragments coming from this area. There were a range of types present, but they appeared to be primarily square patent medicine bottles. Several were embossed, which indicates a date after 1850 (Newman 1970:74).

The embossed bottles included parts of two different bottles which had the same origin (Fig. 68e). One was marked "SOL...DR...SAV..." and the other, "OMONS...RUGGIST,...AVANNAH,F...". It is suspected that, despite that fact that they were of two different sizes, they both came from SOLOMONS DRUGGIST, SAVANNAH, GA. A specific reference to this firm could not be located, but Butler's factors were located in Savannah and were purchasing medical supplies for him there (Butler Papers). These included not only medicines, but containers as well.

Other bottle fragments included one marked "...ORSE...ENT" (Fig. 68d), which would appear to be horse liniment. There were several other partial marks from the tool/storage shed material, but none complete enough to decipher.

A surface collection yielded a complete bottle marked "SIMMONS LIVER REGULATOR; MACON, GA; PHILADELPHIA; J.H. ZELLEN AND CO." (Fig. 68a). This type of bottle dates between 1850 and 1915 (Newman 1970), and Philadelphia would suggest its origin from the Butler family. Pierce Butler was known to send medicines to the estate (Butler Papers). It is also possible that this bottle could date from the post-bellum occupation of the settlement when patent medicines were more common (Hechtlinger 1970).

The other whole bottle recovered has been previously mentioned. Marked only "C. ELLIS & CO. PHILADELPHIA", this bottle does not indicate its contents, only its origin (Fig. 68b). It dates between 1845 and 1870 (Newman 1970:74). which would suggest that it was an antebellum artifact.

At Cabin 4, one fragment marked "...MINT" was recovered perhaps indicating the present of a peppermint extract. This was used both for flavoring and medicinal purposes.

From the well a cylindrical bottle marked "...B. L. ...SHINESTOCKS, VERMIFUGE" was recovered (Fig. 68c). A vermifuge was a medicine for the eradication of intestinal worms and was a common medicine on plantations (Postell 1951:98-99; Savitt 1978:172). Worms were among the most debilitating parasitic disorder of slaves (Savitt 1978:63-64).

Butler was very concerned about the the health of his slaves and retained a physician for their care (Butler Papers). The Roswell King's were charged with maintaining the slaves in good health and King (Jr.) mentions the purchase of a book, Thomas' Practice, which had an excellent discussion of the diseases particular to the coastal climate.

#### Kitchen Artifacts - Food Consumption and Preparation

Cooking vessel fragments appeared to be evenly distributed about the site and included kettle, cauldron and skillet fragments. Three fragments (one almost whole) of trammel or pot hooks were recovered (Fig. 69b), indicating that cooking was done over an open fire (Wigginton 1979:129). These were also distributed about the site, but one recovered in Cabin 4 would suggest that the slaves were also using the hearth for cooking purposes.

Several eating utensils (3 spoons, 2 forks, 2 knives) were also found. All were iron, or iron with bone handles. In addition, a number of tin (iron) can pieces, including two lids or bases (Fig. 69a, c), were recovered. These could date to the post-bellum occupation of the site.

Dark green wine bottle fragments were somewhat common on the site and very evenly distributed. Only two were complete enough to suggest a date. One appeared to be an 1834 type, while the other was similar to the

1804 shape (Noel-Hume 1969:68). Both came from Cabin 4 and indicate the long time span that the cabin was occupied. In addition, several amber bottle glass fragments occurred at the site. These were probably post-bellum remains.

Only five fragments from drinking glasses were found, all apparently tumblers.

#### Architectural Group

As usual, this group was dominated by nails. Only one-quarter were identifiable and these were overwhelmingly machine cut. There were only 137 wrought nails out of the total 1196 identifiable nails. There were no wire wound nails. An interesting fact was one reference to the re-use of nails on the Butler estate (King 1832). This would lead to earlier dates from the nail chronology. Despite this fact, the nails from Jones indicated that all of the buildings were constructed after 1790 (Noel-Hume 1969:253).

Other building hardware included hinges, predominantly strap type. These were more common on large doors and gates (Fig. 70d) (Noel-Hume 1969:236). Two were recovered from Cabin 4 and may have been used for the cabin doors. One was also recovered from the tool/storage shed. A number of spikes were found, most coming from Cabin 4 and the tool/storage shed. This is not surprising in



view of their structural nature. Of the lock mechanisms, most came from the possible privy. No reason for this seemed apparent. Others were recovered from the cabin and tool/storage shed (Fig. 70e-f). One shutter hook was recovered from the road area (Fig. 70b). It may well be associated with Cabin 2.

The presence of only 30 window glass fragments is an almost certain indication that the windows were shuttered rather than glazed. Fanny Kemble notes this fact in her journal (Kemble 1961:303).

#### Activities Group

This group included lead bale seals, lead fishing weights, hoes, hooks, chisels, chain fragments, and a farrier's knife. These appeared to be rather randomly distributed about the site, except for the lead weights which were found almost exclusively at Cabin 4. All of these weights appeared to be recycled shot, drilled for use as a sinker (Fig 71a). Their association with the habitation structure suggests their importance as subsistence items.

The farrier's knife (Fig. 69d) was recovered from the tool/storage shed. These were used in cutting and cleaning horses hooves (Sloane 1964:91). While horses are not known to have been kept at the site, there were a number on the plantation (Butler Papers).

### Arms Group

Seven lead shot were found, two from Cabin 4 and five from the tool/storage shed. Their association with Cabin 4 is, again, a factor of the habitation nature of the structure, but their association with the tool/storage shed would seem to indicate that either they were stored there or that some subsistence related activity occurred there.

A great deal has been written in the discussions of slavery about the fact that slaves were not allowed to have guns (Eaton 1961:72-97; Stamp 1956:208). At every slave site excavated to date evidence of firearms has been found. In most cases this was not confined to shot. Gunflints and a trigger guard have also been found. At Jones, besides shot, six gunflints, a brass trigger guard, and a copper ramrod holder were recovered (Fig. 71). This archeological evidence was reinforced by a documentary reference to the fact that slaves on the Butler estate had formerly been allowed the use of guns for hunting. Because of bad conduct, that privilege was revoked by Roswell King (King 1829).

### Clothing Group

Buttons are the most common artifact from this group. A total of 53 were recovered from the site. Most of these (40) were brass, with the predominant types being Type 7 and Type 18 (South 1964:115). Type 7 is present on sites from 1750 to 1850; Type 18 occurs after 1800

(Noel-Hume 1969:90). Many of the buttons were gilded, a process popular from 1800 to 1850 (Luscomb 1972). They were often marked with "RICH COLOR", "BEST COLOR", "DOUBLE GILT", "LONDON", etc. These are common on plantation sites (Otto 1975:255). One brass military button was recovered. Because it lacking the "A" in "USA", it dates after 1812 (Noel-Hume 1969:90), but no further information could be obtained.

Of the other buttons, two were bone and one was shell (Fig. 72b). The lack of bone buttons was somewhat surprising. Otto had found considerably more at Cannon's Point (Otto 1975:249-250). There is no evidence that buttons were being provided for the slaves. Since bone was readily available, it was thought that there might be more. Both the bone and shell buttons were probably used for shirts, trousers, or underwear (Otto 1975:249-250; South 1964:121).

Several porcelain shirt buttons and one shoe button were also found at the site (Fig. 72b).

Most of the buttons were found at Cabin 4 and the tool/storage shed. Again, this is indicative of the fact that these seem to be the primary activity areas excavated. The other buttons were equally distributed about the site.

The lack of mention of the purchase of buttons, in view of the fact that cloth, thread and needles are all

invoiced on plantation supply lists, suggests that the slaves may have been purchasing their own buttons or even possibly getting discards from the planter's (or manager's) house.

Other clothing related artifacts included three brass thimbles, ten beads, three buckles, (1 silver, 2 brass), and a pair of scissors. The beads are of assorted types. Two are wire wound; two are multifaceted types similar to Type 21 (Good 1972:108); one is hexagonal (Type 9, VanderSleen n.d.:38); and one is octagonal (Type 12, VanderSleen n.d.:38). One of the most interesting is one similar to Type 5 (Good 1972:105), but the holes are not driven longitudinally, but laterally through each end. One "ambassador" bead was also recovered (VanderSleen n.d.:85). These beads were frequently given as gifts to African tribes. They were also common on late eighteenth and nineteenth century sites in the United States (Fairbanks 1974:90). The beads, as expected, were concentrated in Cabin 4 (8 of 10).

#### Personal Group

The personal group consisted of 13 artifacts. A brass brooch was found in 430N,414E, as was a piece of a writing slate. From the possible privy a pocket knife was recovered. It is a slab and spring type which was

manufactured during the nineteenth century (Time-Life 1980:137). Part of a toothbrush was recovered from Cabin 4 (Fig. 72d). From 438N,421E a lead pencil fragment was recovered.

Toys were included in this group rather than activities as South would have. This makes little difference in the group percentages (approximately .1%) and seems to make more sense as these would certainly be personal items. Two doll legs, one doll arm, and a clay marble constitute the toy group (Fig. 72a). Doll parts of bisque porcelain became widely available after 1845 (Noel-Hume 1969:317). No dates are known for clay marbles, but Noel-Hume notes that they are ubiquitous on colonial sites (Noel-Hume 1969:20).

Four coins were recovered, a 1775 British half-penny, a 1798 U.S. large cent, an 1866 nickel and an 1868 nickel, both of U.S. origin. The 1775 half-penny was very worn and found in the wall trench of Cabin 4. It had obviously been heirloomed or at least in circulation for a long time, and possibly lost during the construction of Cabin 4 in 1801. The large cent and 1868 nickel both came from the tool/storage shed. The 1868 nickel was found in Level 1 and probably is associated with the post-bellum occupation of the site. The 1798 large cent came from Feature 7 and was therefore lost

during the main period of site occupation. The 1866 nickel came from Level 1 of the well pit.

The personal group is very poorly represented as would be expected on a lower status site. The presence of two writing related implements suggests that at least one (or more) of the slaves may have been able to read and write. Fanny Kemble even notes this in her journal, specifically for a slave at Jones (Kemble 1961:303). This was highly discouraged and even punished by slaveholders (Stampp 1956:208; Kemble 1961:271), but it, nevertheless, seems to have occurred.

#### Tobacco Group

Tobacco pipes were a fairly common artifact at Jones. This included not only white clay pipes, but two fragments of stub-stemmed pipes as well. Fifty pipebowl fragments and 101 stem fragments were recovered. Stem diameter was almost evenly divided between 4/64ths and 5/64ths. Four of the stems had partial maker's marks, but only one could be traced. This stem marked "MCDUGA...,... ASGOW" was made by Duncan McDougall and Company in Glasgow, Scotland. From 1847 to 1968, they exported quantities of pipes to the United States (Oswald 1975:205). Pipes by this maker have been reported from Cannon's Point, as well (Otto 1975:85). The other marked specimens were: 1) "...MBIER, ...RIS or ...RIE"; 2) "...RNAAY, INCO" and 3) "...78,...N WHIT...". None of these could be traced. The McDougall pipe and specimen 1 both came from the tool/storage shed.

Number 2 came from 409N,382E, while Specimen 3 was found in the well.

Decoration on the pipebowls consisted almost exclusively of a vine design. This pattern has been reported from other nineteenth century sites, but no exact date for its production is known (Watkins 1970:71).

One documentary reference refers to the purchase of a "small box of negro pipes" (King 1803b). This would suggest that, at least occasionally, pipes were being given to the slaves. Tobacco was a ration often given at Christmas (Butler Papers). In addition, the slaves could purchase tobacco and pipes in Darien. The relatively large quantity would suggest that this was one of the more frequent purchases made by the slaves.

#### Faunal Group

The faunal data for Jones is presented in Tables 34-45. A total of 33 species were identified at the site. Domestic species accounted for 62.7% of the bone weight and 48.7% of the biomass. Non-domestic species were represented by 14.2% of the bone weight and 36.1% of the biomass. Indeterminate bone was 23% of the bone weight and 15.1% of the biomass (Table 34). Cow and pig made up the majority of the domestic species consumed. It is known that beef was given out at Christmas (Blue 1847), and that pork was a staple part of the diet. There are frequent references to the purchase of pork in

barrels and bacon in the Butler Papers. In addition, it is known that at Jones they were keeping both oxen and hogs (Butler Papers). Barreled pork left few bones and therefore pork is underrepresented in the faunal inventory (Hilliard 1972:57-58). Pork, from purchase records, was by far the most common dietary meat.

Mammal contributed 76.2% of the biomass, birds 5.9%, turtles 6.5%, and fish 10.9%. Again, screen size probably affected the figure for relative contribution of fish. It should be noted that the Buteo sp. and Corvidae probably were not food items, their contribution is very small at any rate.

One interesting factor was the presence of a large quantity of raccoon, Procyon lotor, at the tool/storage shed. It accounted for over 15% of the biomass. The only reason which could be posited was that if the structure did serve as a smokehouse for some period, then perhaps the raccoon was being prepared there. Large quantities of raccoons, which could be obtained at spring tides (and other times), would have had to be preserved in some way. Salting and smoking were the only methods available.

Catfish, Ariidae, were the most common fish at Jones. In one letter Roswell King notes that the slave fishermen had caught 1800 catfish on Little St. Simon's beach and that they had averaged three pounds each (King 1820). This would have been 5400 pounds of fish. Another time the slave fishermen (4 total) caught 300 bass and drum in three days, a total of 4000 pounds and that after fresh



fish had been distributed among the slaves, the rest were smoked and cured. The fresh fish were called a "treat" (King 1832b). Sciaenidae (drum) were not the most common fish at Jones, but being deeper and more open water fish than catfish, they required more active time be spent in their procurement (Woofter 1930:221-222). Fanny Kemble notes one instance where the offal of drum were being consumed by the slaves (Kemble 1961:308).

Besides being provided with beef, pork, and fish, the slaves may have occasionally received mutton. There is no evidence in the Jones inventory, but at one point when there were too many sheep, they were slaughtered and parts, including the offal, were given to the slaves (King 1818). Fanny Kemble also notes an instance where some mutton was stolen by a slave (Kemble 1961:320).

As at other plantation sites, corn was the dietary staple. On Hampton plantation, the slaves were occasionally given rice and fresh vegetables such as peas and potatoes (Butler Papers). Over a period of ten months (March 1800-January 1801), the slaves on St. Simon's each were given 10.40 bushels of corn, .31 bushels of peas, and .46 bushels of potatoes. They were also given 2.80 barrels of pork (Butler Papers 1801).

### Summary

Table 46 presents the artifact profile for Jones. As can be seen, it was overwhelmingly dominated by architectural remains. This is despite the fact that most

of the excavations were in non-structural areas. Kitchen artifacts account for only 29.3% of the total. Artifacts which could be classified personal use type, which includes the personal, clothing, and tobacco groups, were very poorly represented.

The diet at Jones seems to be one that, while relying on domestic animal species and corn, was supplemented extensively by wild animals and fresh vegetables.

The archeological picture of Jones seems to be that while basic necessities, food and shelter, were provided for, other material living conditions were sparse. The diet probably had to be supplemented, if not for caloric intake, then at least for variety (Gibbs et al. 1980: 230). Chapter 5 will compare this data to see how reliable this picture is.

TABLE 31  
JONES CERAMIC DATA

Ceramic type	Tool/Stor. Shed	Road	Cabin 4	422N,418E	338N,376E
brown stoneware bottles	1				1
whiteware	4	5	9	2	7
canton porcelain			3		
mocha	1	8		1	5
overglazed porcelain			1		
fingerpainted pearlware		1	4	3	2
transfer printed pearl- ware	7	5	15	15	7
underglazed polychrome					
pearlware	3	12	21	7	6
annular pearlware	6	24	12	12	17
underglazed blue					
pearlware		6	5	4	3
blue and green edged					
pearlware	6	10	10	16	1
pearlware	15	41	45	39	20
creamware	1	13	18	43	8
jackfield	1	4			
leadglazed slipware	1	5	9	11	4
iberian storage jar			1		
white stoneware			1		
brown saltglazed					
stoneware		6		9	
transfer printed					
whiteware	1				
white porcelain	1				
spongeware		2	3	6	
yellowware	1		1		
blue and green edged					
whiteware					

Table 31 - continued

Ceramic type	Tool/Stor. Shed	Road	Cabin 4	422N,418E	338N,376E	
blue and tan stoneware		1		1		
unglazed earthenware		1		1		
grey stoneware		4	1	10		
TOTALS	49	148	160	175	91	
Ceramic type	414N,430E	409N 382E	438N 421E	Well	TOTALS	%
brown stoneware bottle					2	.2
whiteware	2	6		7	42	5.2
canton porcelain					3	.4
mocha					15	1.8
overglazed porcelain					1	.1
fingerpainted pearlware	2	3	1		16	2.0
transfer printed						
pearlware	5	1		1	56	6.9
underglazed polychrome						
pearlware	5	10	6	1	71	8.7
annular pearlware	4	9	3	1	88	10.8
underglazed blue						
pearlware		3	1		22	2.7
blue and green edged						
pearlware	8	4	4	1	60	7.5
pearlware	6	11	15	15	207	25.6
creamware	3	3	3	3	96	11.8
jackfield		1			6	.7
leadglazed slipware	1	6		1	38	4.7
iberian storage jar					1	.1
white stoneware					1	.1

Table 31 - continued

Ceramic type	414N, 430E	409N 382E	438N 421E	Well	TOTALS	%
brown saltglazed stoneware		3	1		19	2.3
transfer printed whiteware				1	2	.2
white porcelain spongeware			2		13	1.6
yellowware	2	3			7	.9
blue and green edged whiteware	1				4	.5
blue and tan stoneware	3			3	5	.6
unglazed earthenware					2	.2
grey stoneware		1			3	.4
other	4	4		2	29	3.6
TOTALS	46	68	36	36	812	

Site Mean Ceramic Date - 1804.1

Price Scale Level Totals

1 - 346  
2 - 197  
3 - 93  
4 - 58

TABLE 32  
JONES - CERAMIC FORM DATA BY TYPE

Type	Plate	Bowl	Cup or Bowl	Holloware	Mug or Pitcher
whiteware			4	1	
canton porcelain			1	1	
mocha		3	1	4	
firgerpainted pearlware	1	1		1	
transfer printed pearlware	2	2	7	6	
underglazed polychrome					
pearlware	2	5	13	9	
annular pearlware		12	22	17	2
underglazed blue pearlware		1	12	4	
blue and green edged					
pearlware	20				
pearlware	15	19	12	7	1
creamware	8	4	8	7	
jackfield				1	
leadglazed slipware		3		11	
Iberian storage jar				1	
grey stoneware				15	
transfer printed whiteware				2	
spongeware		1	2	1	
yellowware		2			
blue and green edged					
whiteware	7	1	6		
other					
TOTALS	55	54	88	89	3

TABLE 33  
JONES - CERAMIC FORM DATA

Location	Plate	Bowl	Cup or Bowl	Holloware	Mug or Pitcher
tool/storage shed	5 27.8		6 33.3	7 38.9	
Road	13 18.8	12 17.4	18 26.1	26 37.9	
422N, 418E	13 22.8	11 19.3	17 29.8	16 28.1	
338N, 376E	3 9.4	7 21.9	10 31.3	10 31.3	2 6.2
Cabin 4	7 16.3	7 16.3	14 32.5	15 34.9	
414N, 430E	3 42.8	2 28.6	2 28.6		
409N, 382E	7 14.0	11 22.0	19 38.0	13 26.0	
438N, 421E	4 30.8	4 30.8	2 15.4	2 15.4	1 7.7
TOTALS	55 19.0	54 18.7	88 30.4	89 30.8	3 1.0

Total Flatware - 55 (19.0%)

Total Holloware - 234 (81.0%)

TABLE 34  
JONES - FAUNAL DATA

Species	Weight	%	MNI	%	Biomass	%
<i>Bos taurus</i>	594.8	18.3	21	14.2	13.54	11.5
<i>Sus scrofa</i>	306.3	9.4	19	12.8	9.36	8.0
<i>Odocoileus virginianus</i>	17.0	.5	3	2.0	1.04	.9
<i>Artiodactyla</i>	2.5	.1	1	.7	.29	.2
<i>Lutra canadensis</i>	.8	*	1	.7	.19	.2
<i>Procyon lotor</i>	127.1	3.9	22	14.9	6.95	5.9
<i>Didelphis virginianus</i>	20.3	.6	9	6.1	2.03	1.7
<i>Sylvilagus palustris</i>	10.7	.3	2	1.4	.92	.8
<i>Sylvilagus sp.</i>	7.6	.2	5	3.4	1.39	1.2
<i>Lagomorpha</i>	3.2	.1	2	1.4	.49	.4
<i>Sciurus sp.</i>	.4	*	1	.7	.14	.1
<i>Rattus sp.</i>	9.1	.3	**	**	.14	.1
<i>Rodentia</i>	1.1	*	**	**	**	**
Uniden. Mammal						
large	1132.2	34.8	--	--	33.20	28.3
small	62.8	1.9	--	--	7.25	6.2
indet.	172.6	5.3	--	--	12.81	10.9
<i>Gallus gallus</i>	7.2	.2	6	4.1	1.31	1.0
cf. <i>Buteo sp.</i>	2.9	.1	1	.7	.28	.2
<i>Ardea herodias</i>	1.6	.1	1	.7	.20	.2
cf. <i>Corvidae</i>	.9	*	1	.7	.18	.2
<i>Anatidae</i>	.7	*	1	.7	.16	.1
Uniden. Aves	41.8	1.3	--	--	4.96	4.2
<i>Dierochelys reticularia</i>	2.6	.1	4	2.7	.78	.7
<i>Trionyx ferox</i>	1.1	*	1	.7	.23	.2
<i>Malaclemys terrapin</i>	13.0	.4	3	2.0	.98	.8
<i>Chrysemys scripta</i>	1.5	.1	1	.7	.25	.2
<i>Chrysemys sp.</i>	4.6	.5	2	1.4	.56	.5
<i>Kinosternidae</i>	1.3	*	2	1.4	.39	.3
Uniden. Chelonia	40.3	1.2	--	--	4.42	3.8
<i>Alligator mississippiensis</i>	1.5	.1	2	1.4	.30	.3



Table 34 - continued

Species	Weight	%	MNI	%	Biomass	%
<u>Lepisosteus sp.</u>	.7	*	3	2.0	.38	.3
<u>Archosargus probatocephalus</u>	3.3	.1	5	3.4	.66	.6
<u>Caranx hippos</u>	9.2	.3	1	.7	.47	.4
<u>Pogonias cromis</u>	2.1	.1	2	1.4	.49	.4
<u>Sciaenops ocellatus</u>	6.6	.2	1	.7	.45	.4
<u>Sciaenidae</u>	2.5	.1	1	.7	.33	.3
<u>Cynoscion nebulosus</u>	.3	*	1	.7	.16	.1
<u>Bagre marinus</u>	2.6	.1	4	2.7	.59	.5
<u>Arius felis</u>	5.6	.2	6	4.1	.68	.6
<u>Ariidae</u>	7.9	.2	12	8.1	1.81	1.5
<u>Uniden. Osteichthyes</u>	87.4	2.7	--	--	6.87	5.8
<u>Uniden. bone</u>	535.2	16.4	--	--	--	--
TOTALS	3253.3	99.7	148	99.4	117.45	100.0
Domestic	908.3	27.9			24.03	20.5
including large mammal	2040.5	62.7			57.23	48.7
Non-domestic	463.2	14.2			42.45	36.1
Indeterminate	749.6	23.0			17.77	15.1
Number of Fragments Identified						
Mammal	251					
Aves	17					
Reptilia	20					
Osteichthyes	57					
Total	345					

\* - less than .1

\*\* - considered non-food item

TABLE 35  
JONES - FAUNAL DATA  
CABIN 4

Species	Weight	%	MNI	%	Biomass	%
<u>Bos taurus</u>	230.2	46.9	4	15.4	3.70	18.3
<u>Sus scrofa</u>	47.4	9.6	3	11.5	1.80	8.9
<u>Odocoileus virginianus</u>	1.6	.3	1	3.8	.25	1.2
<u>Artiodactyla</u>	2.5	.5	1	3.8	.29	1.4
<u>Procyon lotor</u>	3.7	.8	1	3.8	.52	2.6
<u>Didelphis virginianus</u>	1.1	.2	1	3.8	.21	1.0
<u>Sylvilagus palustris</u>	1.1	.2	1	3.8	.21	1.0
<u>Sylvilagus sp.</u>	3.5	.7	3	11.5	.76	3.8
<u>Lagomorpha</u>	2.2	.4	1	3.8	.28	1.4
<u>Rattus sp.</u>	5.7	1.2	**	**	**	**
<u>Uniden. Mammal</u>						
large	74.8	15.2	--	--	3.81	18.9
small	9.7	2.0	--	--	1.69	8.4
indeterminate	8.0	1.6	--	--	1.04	5.2
<u>Gallus gallus</u>	.5	.1	1	3.8	.14	.7
<u>Corvidae</u>	.9	.2	1	3.8	.18	.9
<u>Uniden. Aves</u>	9.6	2.0	--	--	1.24	6.1
<u>Trionyx ferox</u>	1.1	.2	1	3.8	.23	1.1
<u>Uniden. Chelonia</u>	7.0	1.4	--	--	.96	4.8
<u>Caranx hippos</u>	9.2	1.9	1	3.8	.47	2.3
<u>Cynoscion nebulosus</u>	.3	.1	1	3.8	.16	.8
<u>Pogonias cromis</u>	.7	.1	1	3.8	.22	1.1
<u>Lepisosteus sp.</u>	.3	.1	1	3.8	.16	.8
<u>Arius felis</u>	2.1	.4	2	7.7	.34	1.7
<u>Ariidae</u>	.9	.2	1	3.8	.17	.8
<u>Uniden. Osteichthyes</u>	9.6	2.0	--	--	1.35	6.7
<u>Uniden. bone</u>	57.6	11.7	--	--	--	--
TOTALS	491.3	100.0	26	99.3	20.18	99.9

\*\* - considered non-food item

TABLE 36  
JONES - FAUNAL DATA  
CABIN 4 NORTH

Species	Weight	%	MNI	%	Biomass	%
<u>Bos taurus</u>	45.2	16.8	2	11.1	1.77	11.9
<u>Sus scrofa</u>	46.5	17.3	2	11.1	1.56	10.4
<u>Odocoileus virginianus</u>	1.6	.6	1	5.6	.25	1.7
<u>Artiodactyla</u>	2.5	.9	1	5.6	.29	1.9
<u>Procyon lotor</u>	3.7	1.4	1	5.6	.52	3.5
<u>Sylvilagus palustris</u>	1.1	.4	1	5.6	.21	1.4
<u>Sylvilagus sp.</u>	2.7	1.0	2	11.1	.57	3.8
<u>Lagomorpha</u>	2.2	.8	1	5.6	.28	1.9
Uniden. Mammal						
large	57.9	21.5	--	--	2.59	17.2
small	8.8	3.3	--	--	1.39	9.2
indeterminate	8.0	3.0	--	--	1.04	6.9
<u>Gallus gallus</u>	.5	.2	1	5.6	.14	.9
<u>Uniden. Aves</u>	8.6	3.2	--	--	.96	6.4
<u>Trionyx ferox</u>	1.1	.4	1	5.6	.23	1.5
<u>Uniden. Chelonia</u>	7.0	2.6	--	--	.96	6.4
<u>Caranx hippos</u>	9.2	3.4	1	5.6	.47	3.1
<u>Pogonias cromis</u>	.7	.3	1	5.6	.22	1.5
<u>Arius felis</u>	2.1	.8	2	11.1	.34	2.3
<u>Ariidae</u>	.9	.3	1	5.6	.17	1.1
<u>Uniden. Osteichthyes</u>	7.8	2.9	--	--	1.08	7.2
<u>Uniden. bone</u>	45.7	17.0	--	--	--	--
TOTALS	269.5	100.2	18	100.4	15.06	100.2

TABLE 37  
JONES - FAUNAL DATA  
CABIN 4 SOUTH

Species	Weight	%	MNI	%	Biomass	%
<u>Bos taurus</u>	185.0	83.2	2	25.0	1.93	37.7
<u>Sus scrofa</u>	1.5	.7	1	12.5	.24	4.7
<u>Didelphis virginianus</u>	1.1	.5	1	12.5	.21	4.1
<u>Sylvilagus sp.</u>	.8	.4	1	12.5	.19	3.7
<u>Uniden. Mammal</u>						
large	16.9	7.6	--	--	1.22	23.8
small	.9	.4	--	--	.30	5.9
<u>Corvidae</u>	.9	.4	1	12.5	.18	3.5
<u>Uniden. Aves</u>	1.0	.4	--	--	.28	5.5
<u>Lepisosteus sp.</u>	.3	.1	1	12.5	.14	2.7
<u>Cynoscion nebulosus</u>	.3	.1	1	12.5	.16	3.1
<u>Uniden. Osteichthyes</u>	1.8	.8	--	--	.27	5.3
<u>Uniden. bone</u>	11.9	5.4	--	--	--	--
TOTALS	222.4	100.4	8	100.0	5.12	100.0

TABLE 38  
JONES - FAUNAL DATA  
TOOL/STORAGE AREA

Species	Weight	%	MNI	%	Biomass	%
<u>Bos taurus</u>	21.2	4.0	3	6.3	1.28	4.4
<u>Sus scrofa</u>	47.0	8.8	6	12.5	2.21	7.7
<u>Procyon lotor</u>	108.1	20.2	13	27.1	4.47	15.5
<u>Didelphis virginianus</u>	5.1	1.0	1	2.1	.39	1.4
<u>Sylvilagus palustris</u>	8.1	1.5	1	2.1	.47	1.6
<u>Sylvilagus sp.</u>	3.5	.7	2	4.2	.46	1.6
<u>Lagomorpha</u>	1.0	.2	1	2.1	.21	.7
<u>Scalopus sp.</u>	.4	.1	1	2.1	.14	.5
<u>Rattus sp.</u>	2.8	.5	**	**	**	**
<u>Uniden. Mammal</u>						
large	145.1	27.2	--	--	5.83	20.2
small	24.0	4.5	--	--	2.31	8.0
indeterminate	30.2	5.7	--	--	3.14	10.9
<u>Gallus gallus</u>	3.8	.7	2	4.2	.46	1.6
<u>Ardea herodias</u>	2.6	.3	1	2.1	.20	.7
<u>Uniden. Aves</u>	20.4	3.8	--	--	1.99	6.9
<u>Dicrochelys reticularia</u>	.9	.2	1	2.1	.22	.8
<u>Chrysemys scripta</u>	1.5	.3	1	2.1	.25	.9
<u>Kinosternidae</u>	.8	.1	1	2.1	.21	.7
<u>Uniden. Chelonia</u>	.9	.2	--	--	.35	1.2
<u>Alligator mississippiensis</u>	.6	.1	1	2.1	.14	.5
<u>Archosargus probatocephalus</u>	1.1	.2	2	4.2	.25	.9
<u>Pogonias cromis</u>	1.4	.3	1	2.1	.27	.9
<u>Sciaenidae</u>	2.5	.5	1	2.1	.33	1.1
<u>Lepisosteus sp.</u>	.3	.1	1	2.1	.14	.5
<u>Arius felis</u>	4.0	.7	4	8.3	.71	2.5
<u>Ariidae</u>	.3	.1	4	8.3	.16	.5
<u>Uniden. Osteichthyes</u>	11.9	2.2	--	--	2.40	8.3
<u>Uniden. bone</u>	85.3	16.0	--	--	--	--
TOTAL	533.8	100.2	48	100.3	28.85	100.5

\*\* - considered non-food item

TABLE 39  
JONES - FAUNAL DATA  
ROAD AREA

Species	Weight	%	MNI	%	Biomass	%
<u>Bos taurus</u>	99.5	15.6	4	16.7	2.77	13.1
<u>Sus scrofa</u>	34.9	5.5	5	20.8	2.03	9.6
<u>Procyon lotor</u>	4.5	.7	2	8.3	.56	2.6
<u>Didelphis virginianus</u>	7.5	1.2	4	16.7	.93	4.4
<u>Rodentia</u>	.3	*	**	**	**	**
Uniden. Mammal						
large	244.8	38.3	--	--	6.28	29.7
small	13.7	2.1	--	--	1.59	7.5
indeterminate	31.4	4.9	--	--	2.04	9.6
<u>Gallus gallus</u>	.7	.1	1	4.2	.16	.8
<u>Anatidae</u>	.7	.1	1	4.2	.16	.8
Uniden. Aves	6.1	1.0	--	--	.71	3.4
<u>Malaclemys terrapin</u>	8.4	1.3	1	4.2	.41	1.9
<u>Dierochelys reticularia</u>	.7	.1	1	4.2	.20	.9
Uniden. Chelonia	5.9	.9	--	--	.75	3.5
<u>Sciaenops ocellatus</u>	6.6	1.0	1	4.2	.45	2.1
<u>Bagre marinus</u>	2.2	.3	3	12.5	.47	2.2
<u>Ariidae</u>	.6	.1	1	4.2	.15	.7
Uniden. Osteichthyes	57.5	9.0	--	--	1.51	7.1
Uniden. bone	113.4	17.7	--	--	--	--
TOTALS	639.4	99.9	24	100.2	21.17	99.9

\* - less than .1

\*\* - considered non-food item

TABLE 40  
JONES - FAUNAL DATA  
422N, 418E

Species	Weight	%	MNI	%	Biomass	%
<u>Bos taurus</u>	33.6	5.9	3	16.7	1.56	9.1
<u>Sus scrofa</u>	111.8	19.6	5	27.8	3.07	17.9
<u>Odocoileus virginianus</u>	1.0	.2	1	5.6	.21	1.2
<u>Procyon lotor</u>	1.4	.2	2	11.1	.36	2.1
<u>Didelphis virginianus</u>	.8	.1	1	5.6	.19	1.1
<u>Uniden. Mammal</u>						
large	262.1	45.8	--	--	6.25	36.4
small	5.1	.9	--	--	.39	2.3
indeterminate	26.3	4.6	--	--	2.07	12.1
<u>Gallus gallus</u>	2.2	.4	2	11.1	.37	2.2
<u>Unide. Aves</u>	3.1	.5	--	--	.55	3.2
<u>Malaclemys terrapin</u>	2.1	.4	1	5.6	.28	1.6
<u>Dierochelys reticularia</u>	.6	.1	1	5.6	.19	1.1
<u>Uniden. Chelonia</u>	6.4	1.1	--	--	.82	4.8
<u>Bagre marinus</u>	.4	.1	1	5.6	.12	.7
<u>Aridae</u>	.8	.1	1	5.6	.17	1.0
<u>Uniden. Osteichthyes</u>	2.2	.4	--	--	.55	3.2
<u>Uniden. bone</u>	112.5	19.5	--	--	--	--
TOTALS	572.4	100.2	18	100.3	17.15	100.3

TABLE 41  
JONES - FAUNAL DATA  
CABIN 2

Species	Weight	%	MNI	%	Biomass	%
<i>Bos taurus</i>	19.1	10.7	2	28.6	.99	15.1
<i>Sus scrofa</i>	1.1	.6	1	14.3	.21	3.2
<i>Didelphis virginianus</i>	.6	.3	1	14.3	.17	2.6
Uniden. Mammal						
large	66.3	37.2	--	--	2.00	30.5
small	2.6	1.5	--	--	.57	8.7
indeterminate	17.3	9.7	--	--	1.44	22.0
Uniden. Chelonia	.8	.4	--	--	.21	3.2
<i>Arius felis</i>	1.1	.6	1	14.3	.19	2.9
Ariidae	1.5	.8	2	28.6	.32	4.9
Uniden. Osteichthyes	3.1	1.7	--	--	.45	6.9
Uniden. bone	64.8	36.3	--	--	--	--
TOTALS	178.3	99.8	7	100.1	6.55	100.0



TABLE 42  
JONES - FAUNAL DATA  
430N, 414E

Species	Weight	%	MNI	%	Biomass	%
<i>Bos taurus</i>	32.8	21.3	2	18.2	1.21	18.0
<i>Sus scrofa</i>	47.9	31.2	2	18.2	1.40	20.8
<i>Procyon lotor</i>	3.3	2.1	1	9.1	.33	4.9
<i>Lutra canadensis</i>	.8	.5	1	9.1	.19	2.8
<i>Didelphis virginianus</i>	5.2	3.4	1	9.1	.39	5.8
<u>Uniden. Mammal</u>						
large	30.4	19.8	--	--	1.17	17.4
indeterminate	10.0	6.5	--	--	.73	10.9
Uniden. Aves	.1	*	--	--	.07	1.0
<i>Dierochelys reticularia</i>	.4	.3	1	9.1	.17	2.5
<u>Uniden. Chelonla</u>	2.6	1.7	--	--	.47	7.0
<i>Archosargus probatocephalus</i>	.8	.6	2	18.2	.22	3.2
<u>Arilidae</u>	.3	.2	1	9.1	.11	1.6
Uniden. Osteichthyes	.5	.3	--	--	.26	3.9
Uniden. bone	18.6	12.1	--	--	--	--
TOTALS	153.7	100.0	11	100.1	6.72	99.8

\* - less than .1

TABLE 43  
JONES - FAUNAL DATA  
409N, 382E

Species	Weight	%	MNI	%	Biomass	%
<u>Bos taurus</u>	51.4	17.8	3	25.0	1.86	16.4
<u>Procyon lotor</u>	4.6	1.6	3	25.0	.71	6.3
<u>Uniden. Mammal</u>						
large	113.6	39.3	--	--	3.83	33.7
small	2.9	1.0	--	--	.59	5.2
indeterminate	44.2	15.3	--	--	1.78	15.7
<u>Malaclemys terrapin</u>	2.5	.9	1	8.3	.29	2.6
<u>Chrysemys sp.</u>	4.6	1.6	2	16.7	.56	4.9
<u>Kinosternidae</u>	.5	.2	1	8.3	.18	1.6
<u>Uniden. Chelonia</u>	16.2	5.6	--	--	.86	7.6
<u>Archosargus probatocephalus</u>	1.4	.5	1	8.3	.19	1.7
<u>Ariidae</u>	.9	.3	1	8.3	.17	1.5
<u>Uniden. Osteichthyes</u>	.9	.3	--	--	.33	2.9
<u>Uniden. bone</u>	44.8	15.5	--	--	--	--
TOTALS	289.1	100.1	12	99.9	11.35	100.1

TABLE 44  
JONES - FAUNAL DATA  
438N, 421E

Species	Weight	%	MNI	%	Biomass	%
<u>Bos taurus</u>	94.1	34.2	1	20.0	1.22	19.6
<u>Sus scrofa</u>	15.9	5.8	1	20.0	.61	9.8
<u>Odocoileus virginianus</u>	14.4	5.2	1	20.0	.58	9.3
<u>Sylvilagus palustris</u>	1.5	.5	1	20.0	.24	3.9
<u>Uniden. Mammal</u>						
large	112.4	40.8	--	--	2.47	39.8
small	.3	.1	--	--	.11	1.8
indeterminate	1.4	.5	--	--	.34	5.5
cf. <u>Buteo sp.</u>	2.9	1.1	1	20.0	.28	4.5
<u>Uniden. Aves</u>	1.3	.5	--	--	.20	3.2
<u>Uniden. Osteichthyes</u>	.4	.1	--	--	.16	2.6
<u>Uniden. bone</u>	30.7	11.2	--	--	--	--
TOTALS	275.2	100.0	5	100.0	6.21	100.0

TABLE 45  
JONES - FAUNAL DATA  
WELL AREA

Species	Weight	%	MNI	%	Biomass	%
Bos taurus	12.9	16.7	1	33.3	.56	19.6
Sciurus sp.	.4	.5	1	33.3	.14	4.9
Sylvilagus sp.	.6	.8	1	33.3	.17	5.9
Uniden. Mammal						
large	60.6	78.3	--	--	1.56	54.5
indeterminate	1.3	1.7	--	--	.23	8.0
Uniden. Aves	1.2	1.6	--	--	.20	7.0
Uniden. bone	.4	.5	--	--	--	--
TOTALS	77.4	100.1	3	99.9	2.86	99.9

TABLE 46  
JONES ARTIFACT PROFILE

Location	Kitchen	Arch.	Activ.	Arms	Cloth.	Personal	Tobacco	Total
Cabin 4 %	376 33.5	671 59.7	10 .9	5 .4	31 2.7	4 .3	28 2.5	1124
Tool/storage %	358 18.7	1499 78.1	10 .5	7 .4	19 1.0	3 .1	23 1.2	1918
Road %	252 26.3	668 69.7	6 .6	3 .3	3 .3	0	26 2.7	958
422N,418E %	258 43.7	297 50.3	4 .7	0	8 1.4	1 .2	22 3.7	590
338N,376E %	172 40.2	230 53.7	1 .2	0	4 .9	0	21 4.9	428
430N,414E %	94 67.6	37 26.6	2 1.4	0	2 1.4	2 .7	3 2.2	139
409N,382E %	109 31.4	215 62.0	1 .3	2 .6	4 1.2	0	16 4.6	347
438N,421E %	72 50.7	55 38.7	0	2 1.4	2 1.4	1 .7	10 7.0	142
Well %	46 16.2	228 80.6	1 .4	1 .4	3 1.1	1 .4	3 1.1	283
TOTAL %	1740 29.3	3915 65.9	31 .5	20 .3	76 1.3	12 .2	151 2.5	5945

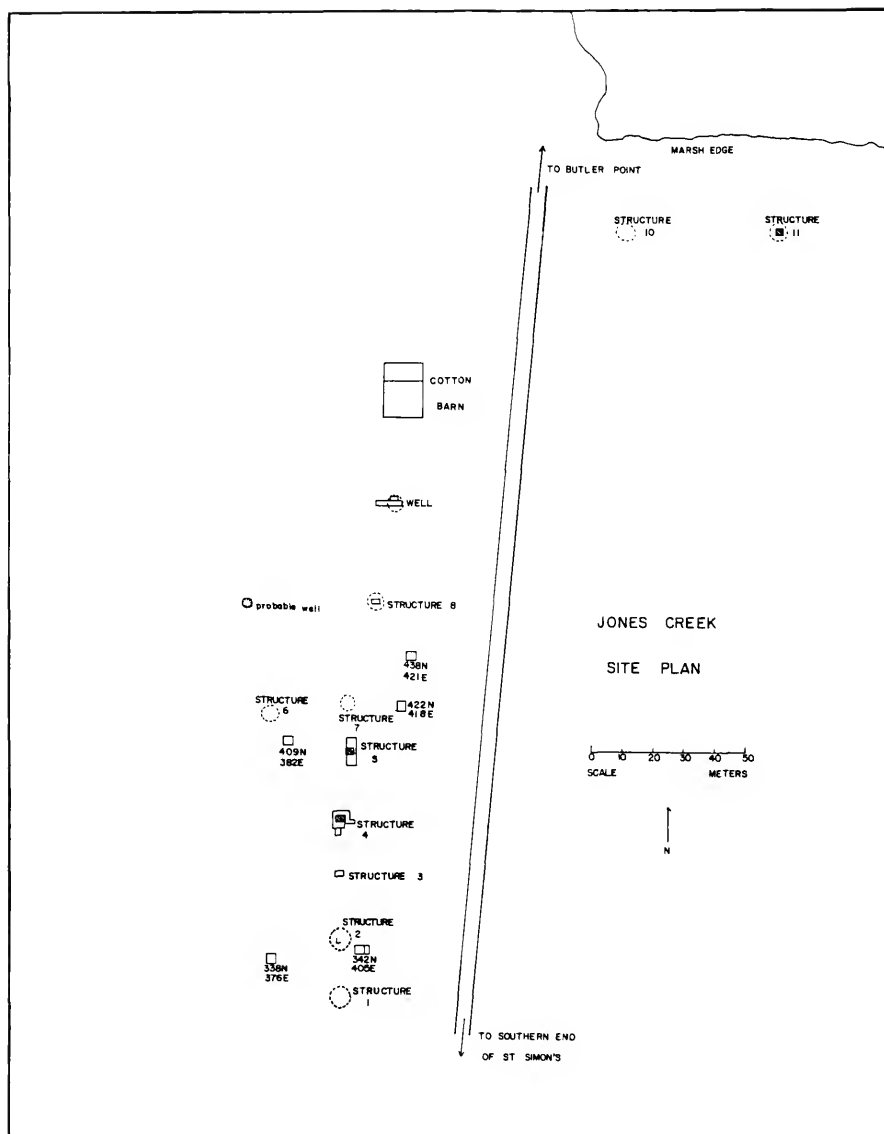


FIGURE 39  
JONES CREEK SITE PLAN

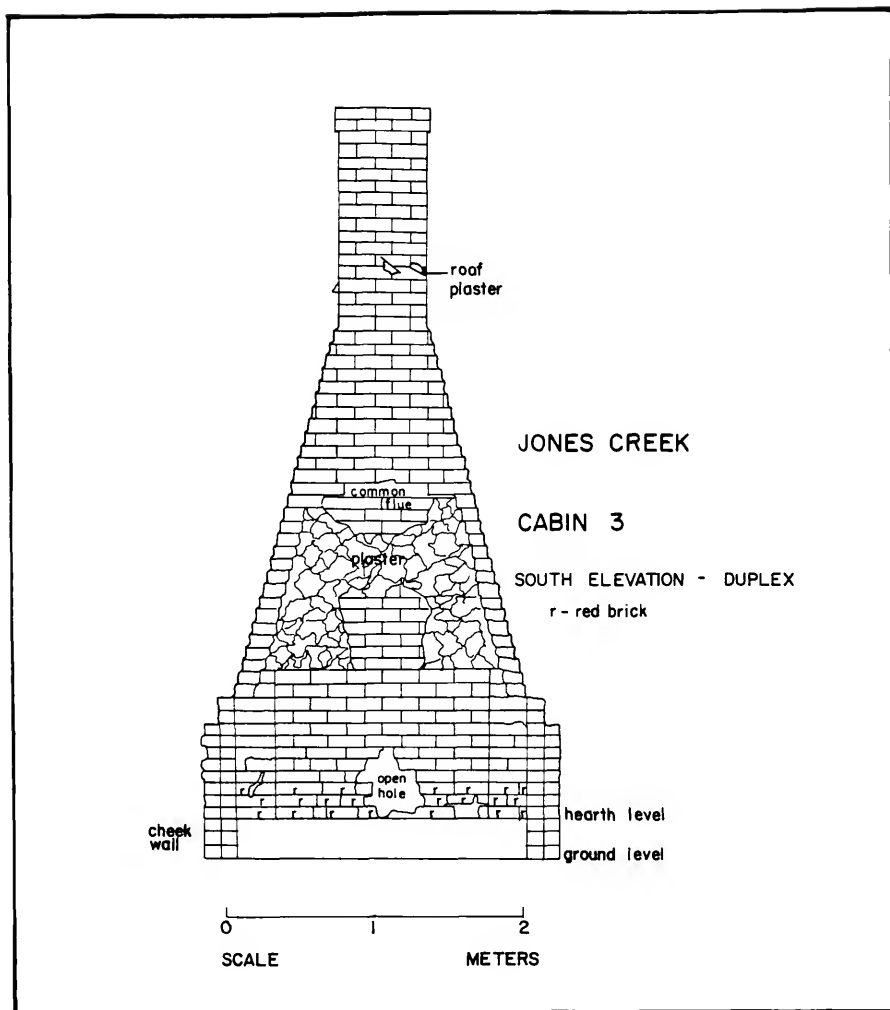


FIGURE 40  
JONES CREEK CABIN 3

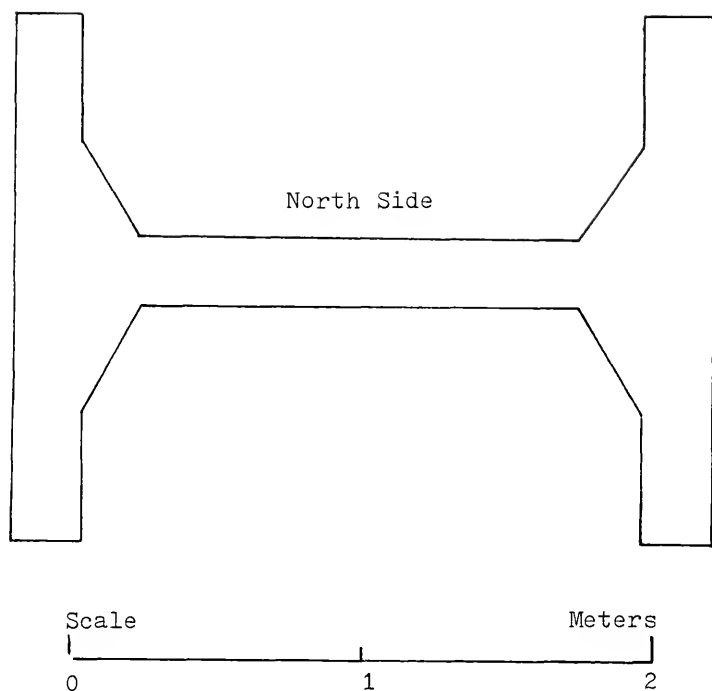


FIGURE 41  
JONES CREEK  
Cabin 3 Chimney Plan



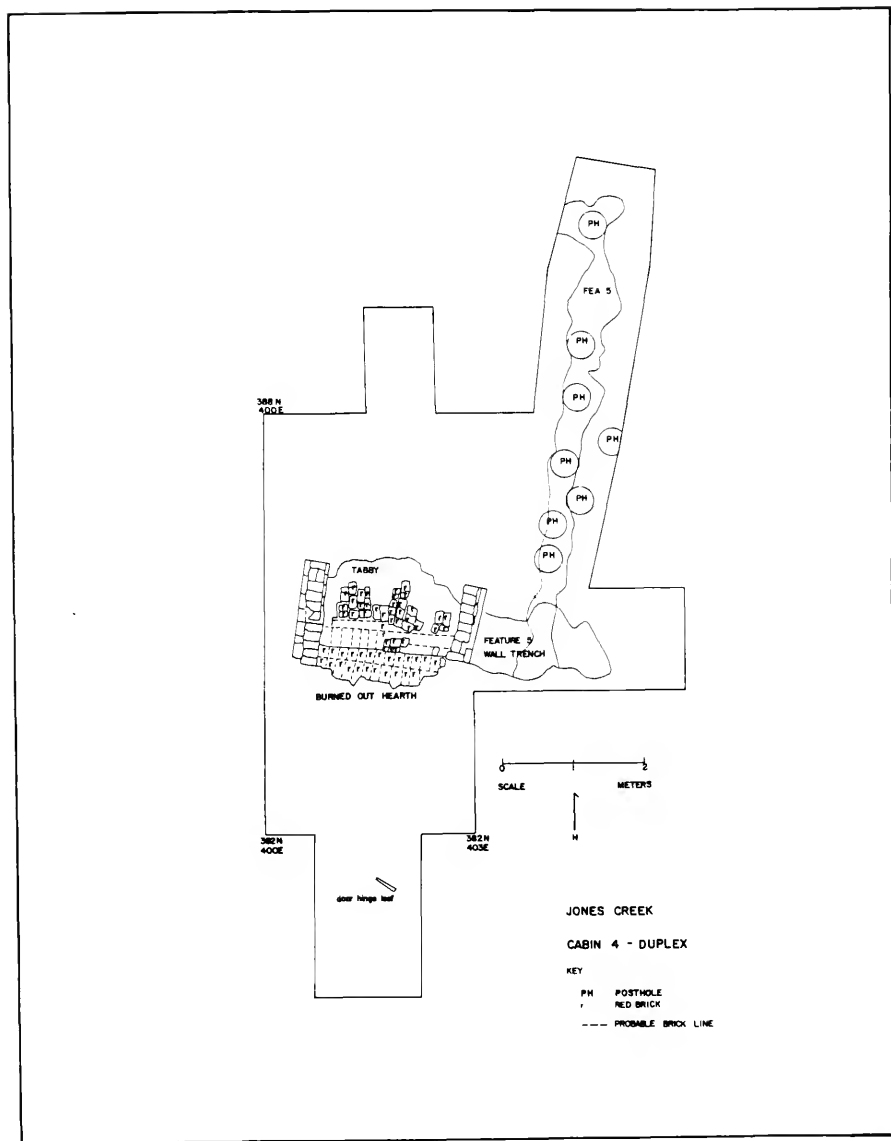
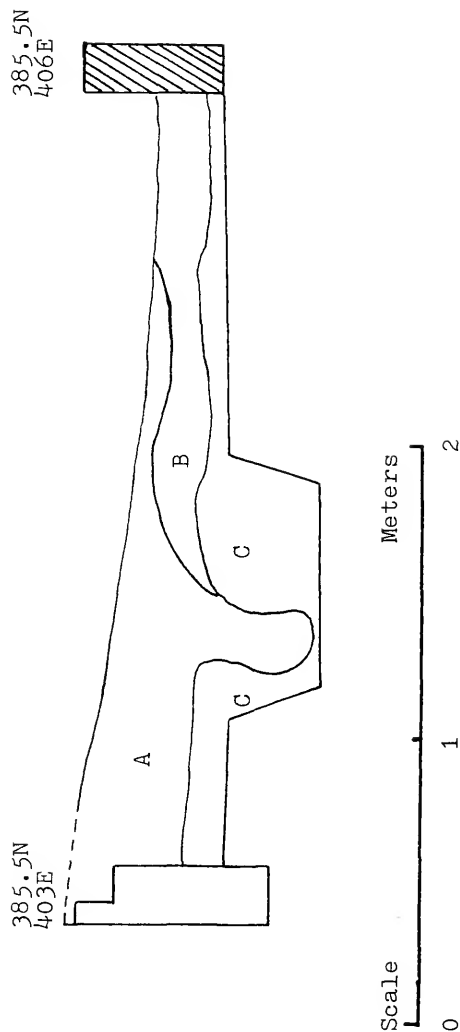


FIGURE 42  
JONES CREEK CABIN 4 - DUPLEX

# JONES CREEK

## FEATURE 5 PROFILE



- A - Black humic sand and rubble
- B - medium brown mottled sand
- C - Light tan undisturbed sand

FIGURE 43  
JONES CREEK FEATURE 5 PROFILE

FIGURE 44  
JONES - CABIN 4, FEATURE 5  
WALL TRENCH

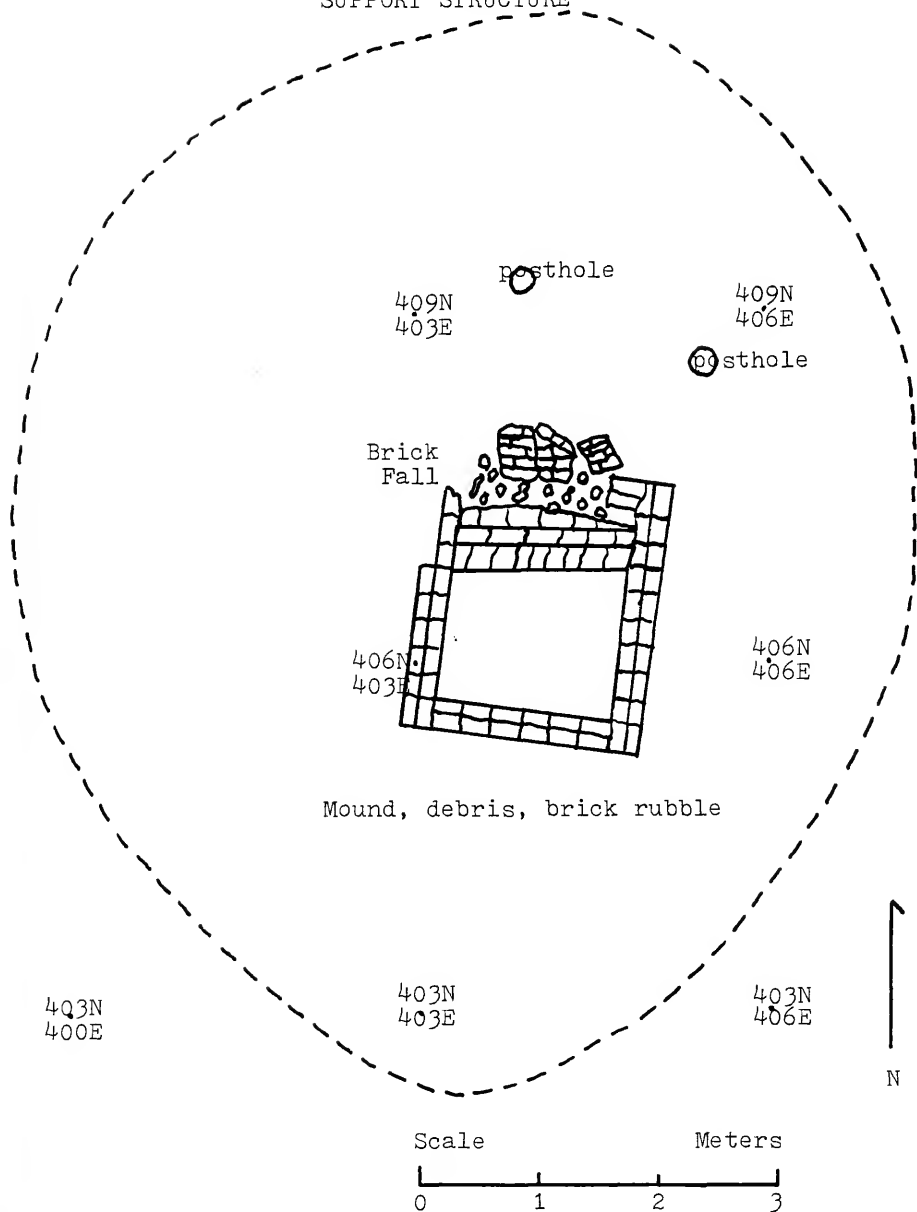


FIGURE 45  
JONES - CABIN 4, FEATURE 5  
WALL TRENCH



FIGURE 46  
JONES CREEK SUPPORT STRUCTURE

JONES CREEK  
SUPPORT STRUCTURE





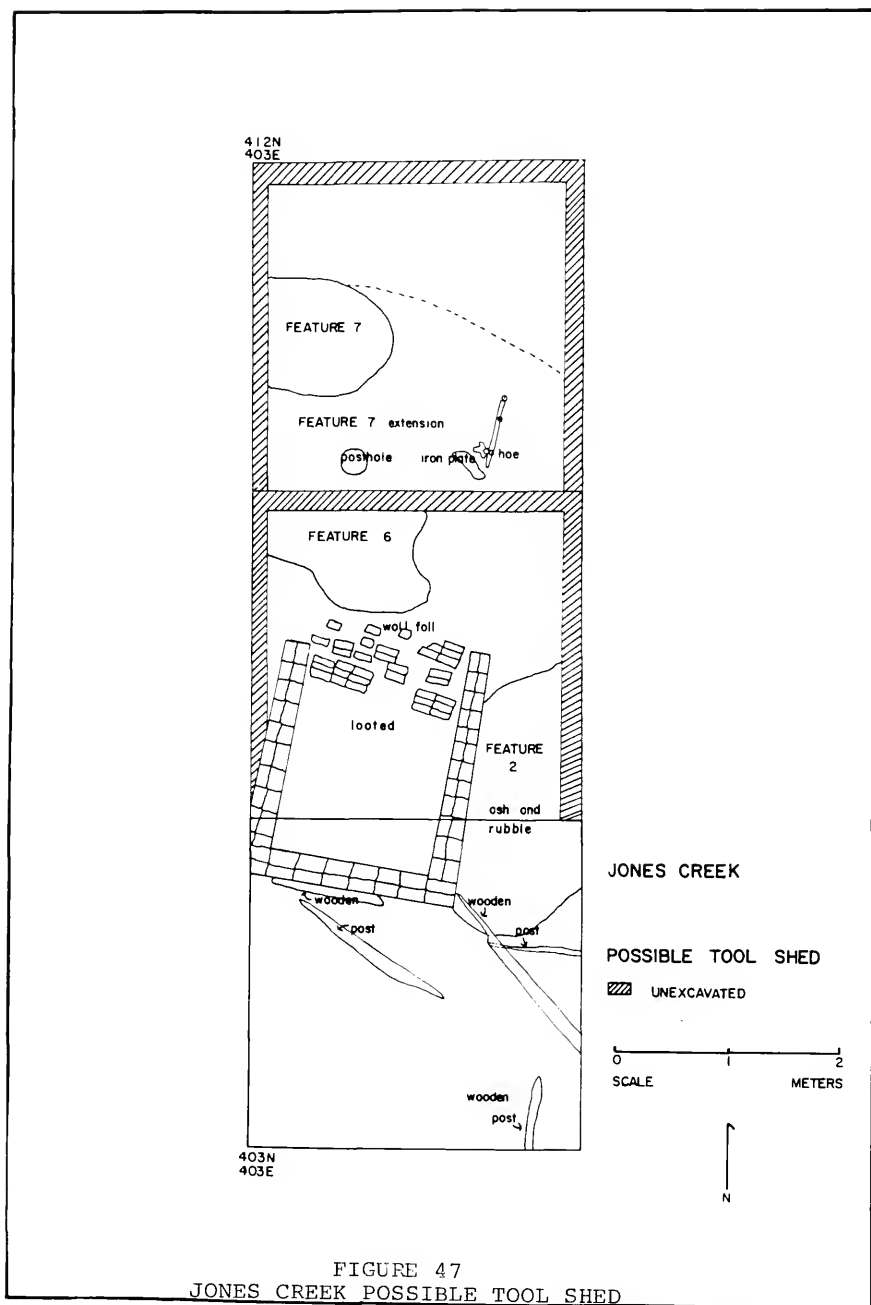


FIGURE 48  
JONES - TOOL/STORAGE SHED



FIGURE 49  
JONES - TOOL/STORAGE SHED

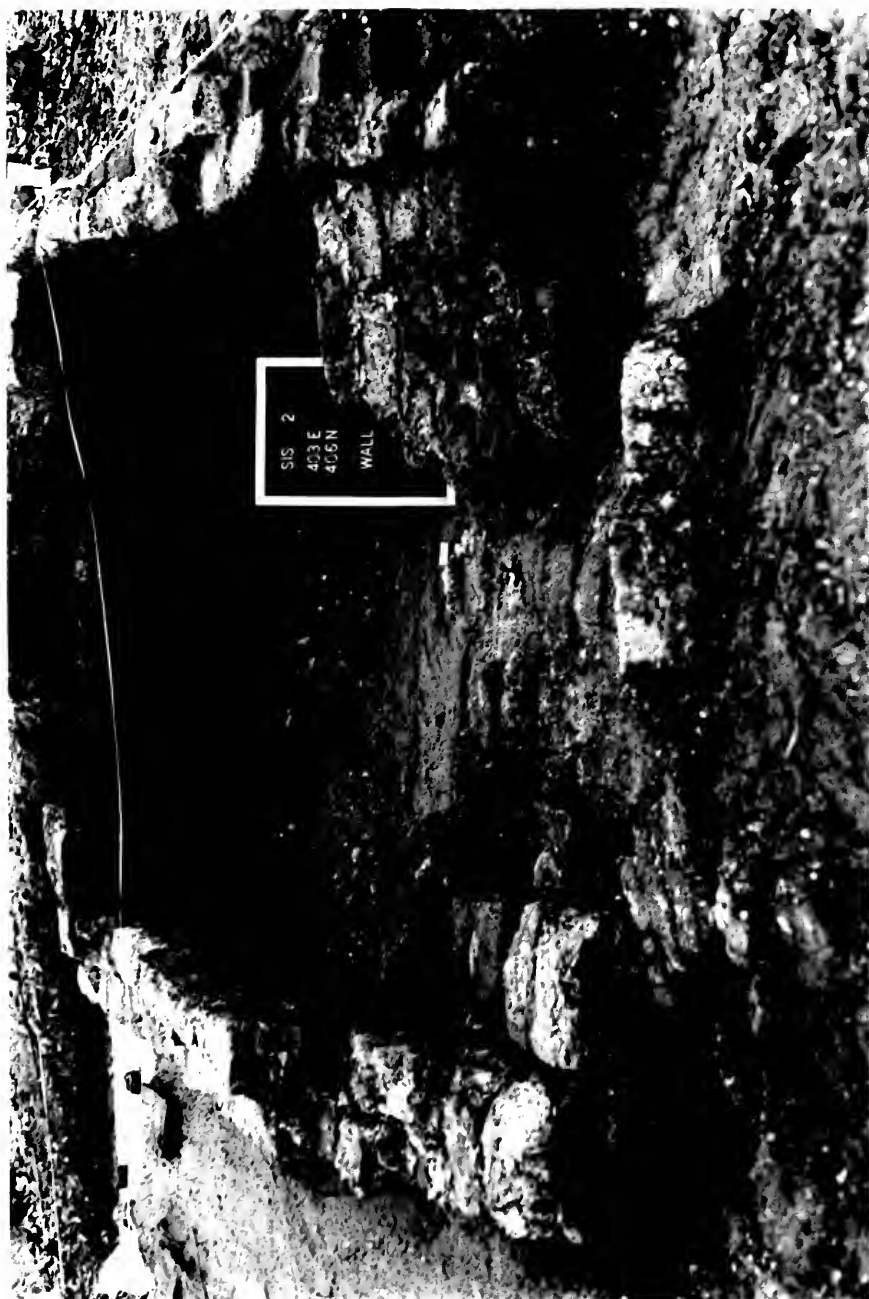


FIGURE 50  
JONES - TOOL/STORAGE SHED  
FEATURE 2

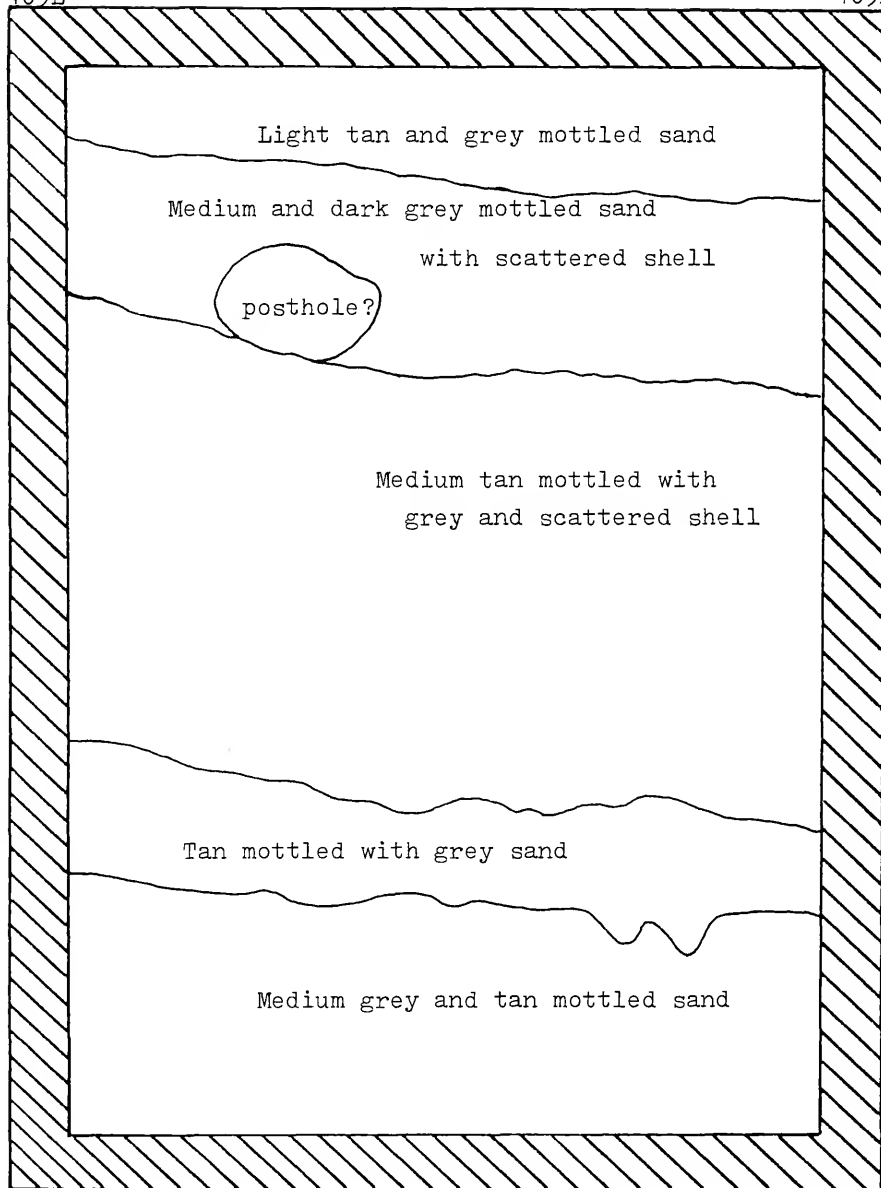


FIGURE 51  
JONES - ROAD PLAN



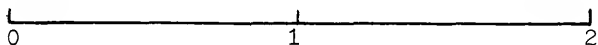
345N  
409E

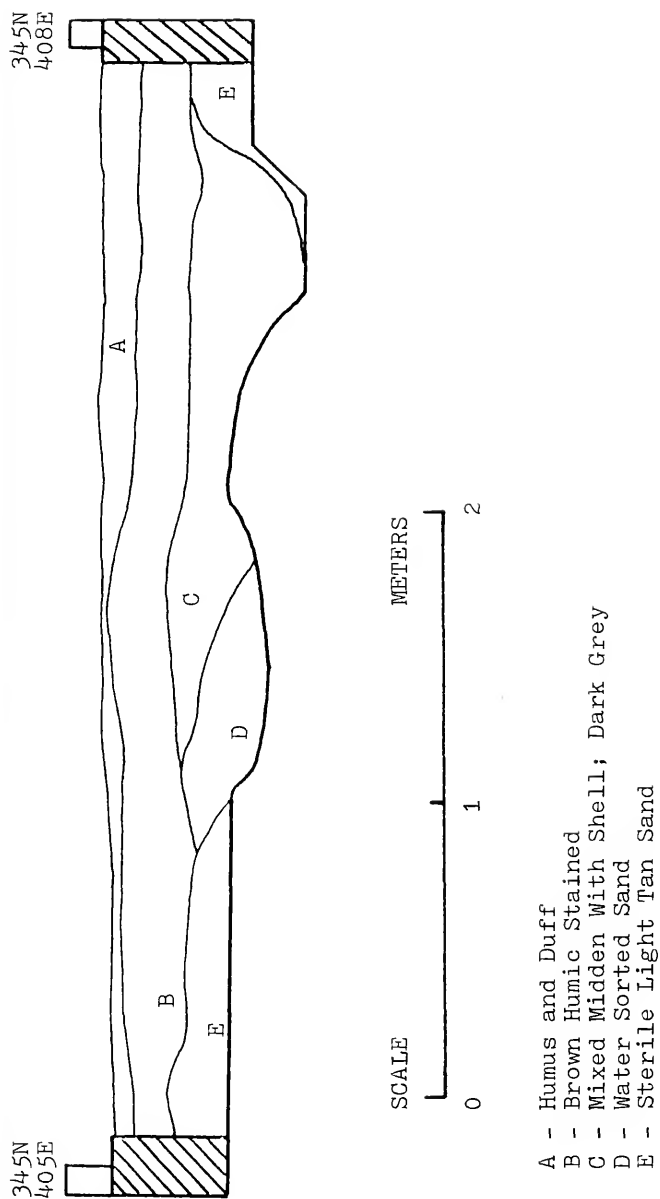
## JONES - ROAD PLAN

342N  
409E345N  
405E342N  
405E

Scale

Meters





## NORTH PROFILE

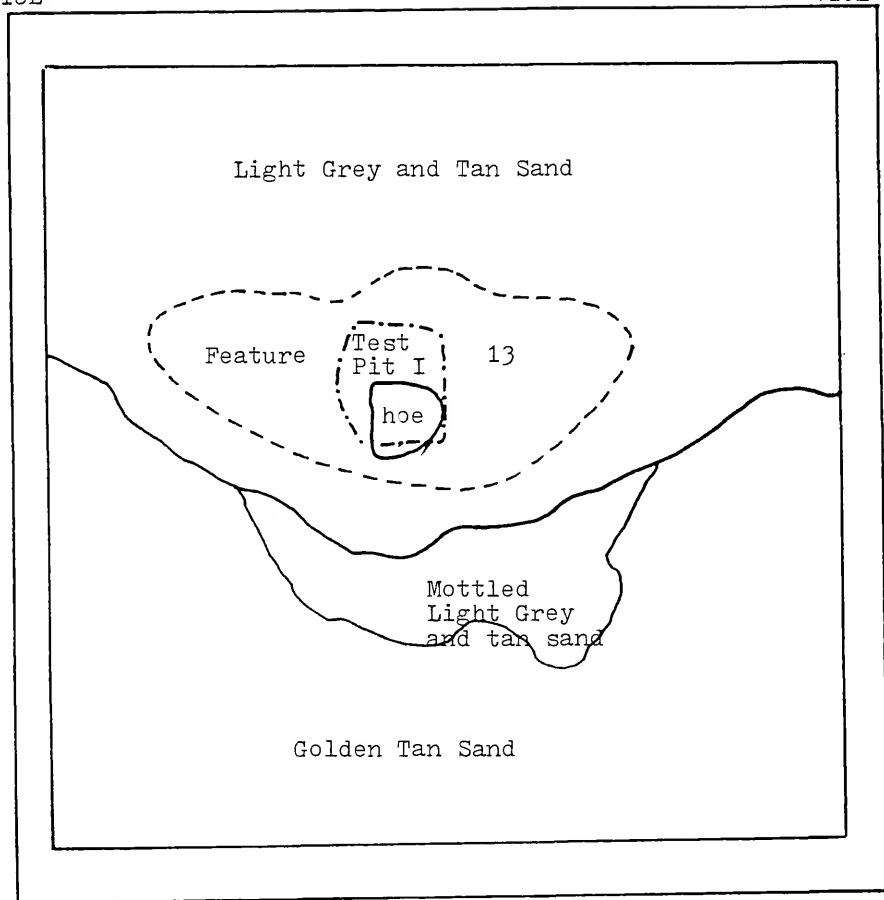
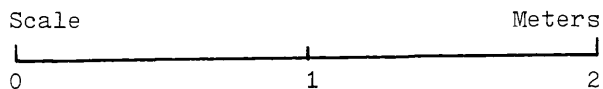
405E, 342N and 408E, 342N  
Possible Road

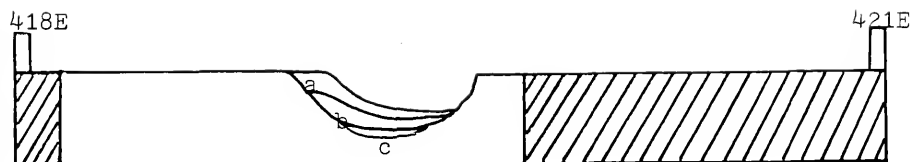
FIGURE 52  
JONES - ROAD PROFILE

FIGURE 53  
JONES - ROAD



FIGURE 54  
JONES CREEK FEATURE 13

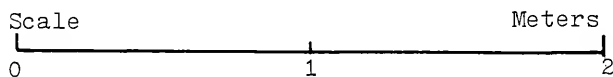
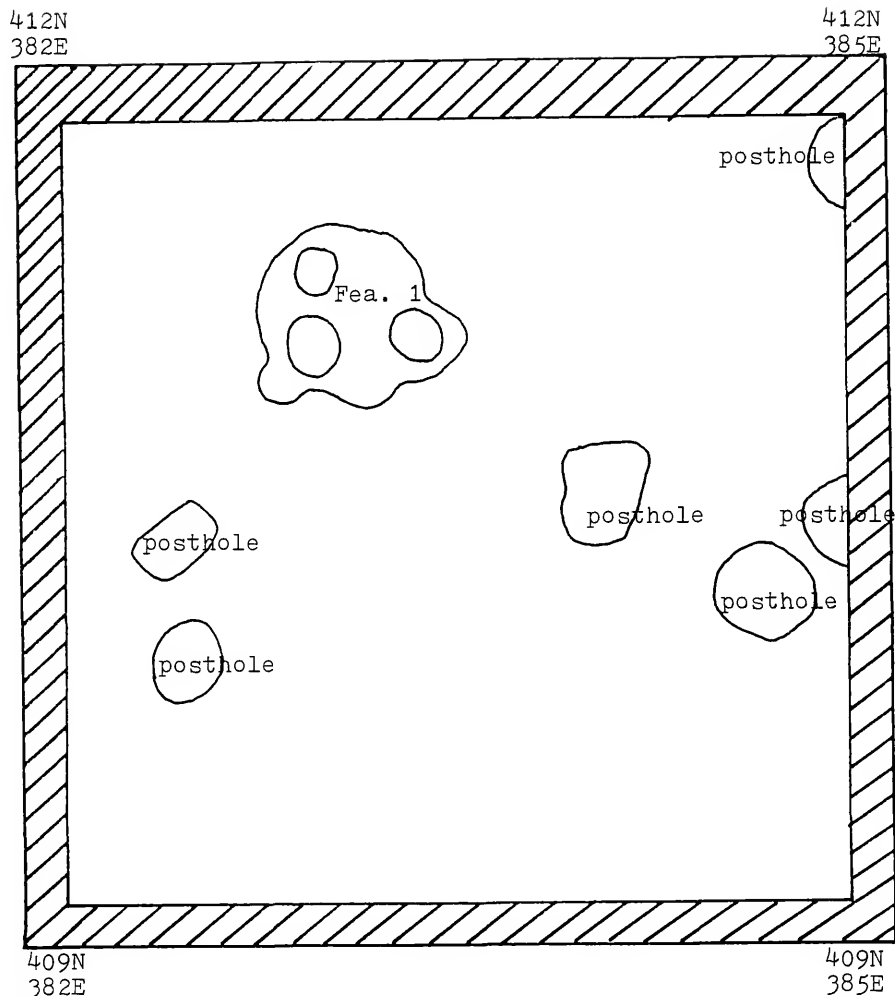
422N  
418E425N  
418E422N  
421E425N  
421EJONES CREEK  
Feature 13 Plan



- a - light grey sand with charcoal bits
- b - light grey and tan sand
- c - light brown sand

JONES CREEK  
FEATURE 13 PROFILE

FIGURE 55  
JONES CREEK FEATURE 13 PROFILE



JONES CREEK  
409N, 382E Plan

FIGURE 56  
JONES - 409N, 382E PLAN



FIGURE 57  
JONES - 409N,382E  
POSSIBLE STRUCTURE



FIGURE 58  
JONES - 438N,421E

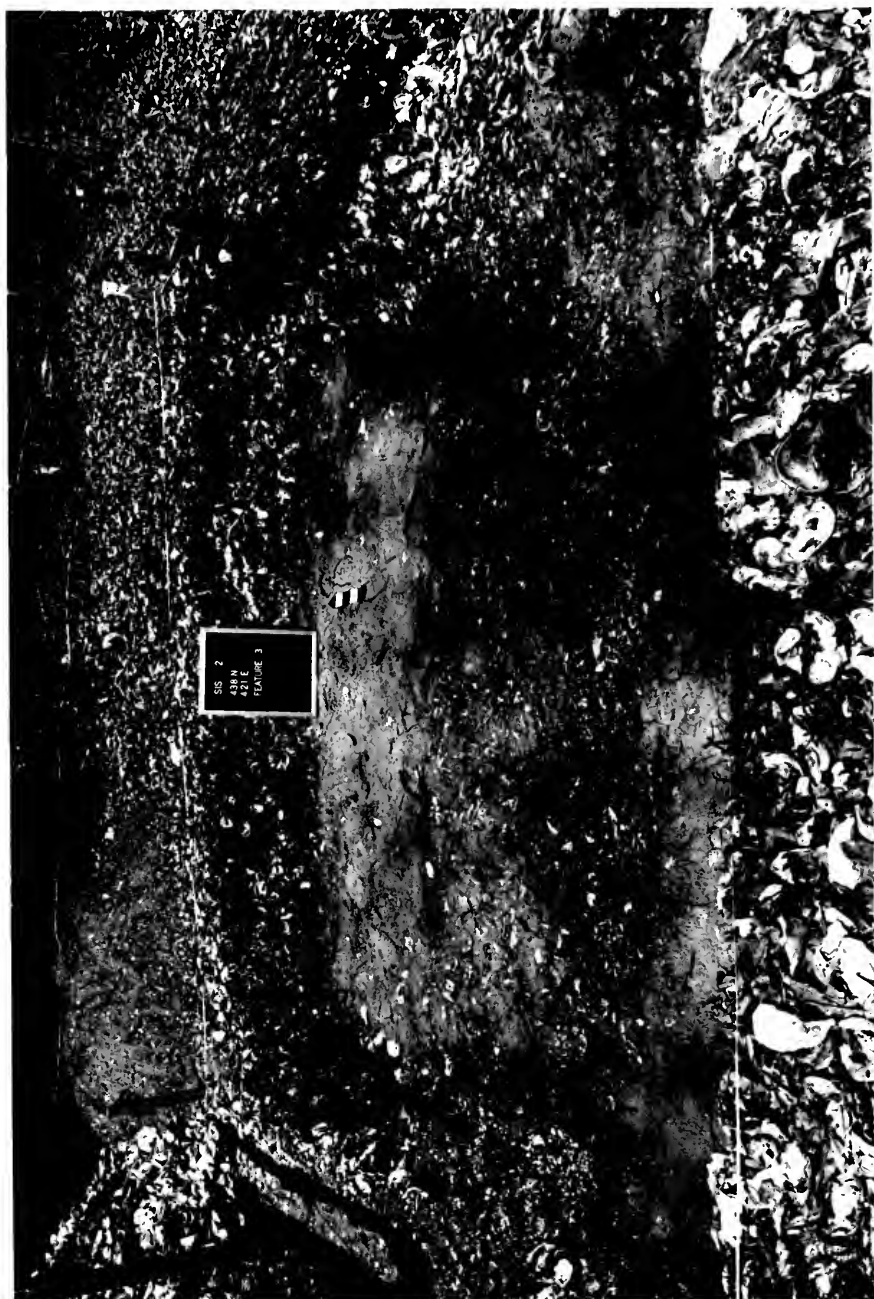


FIGURE 59  
JONES - WELL PIT



FIGURE 60  
JONES CREEK WELL

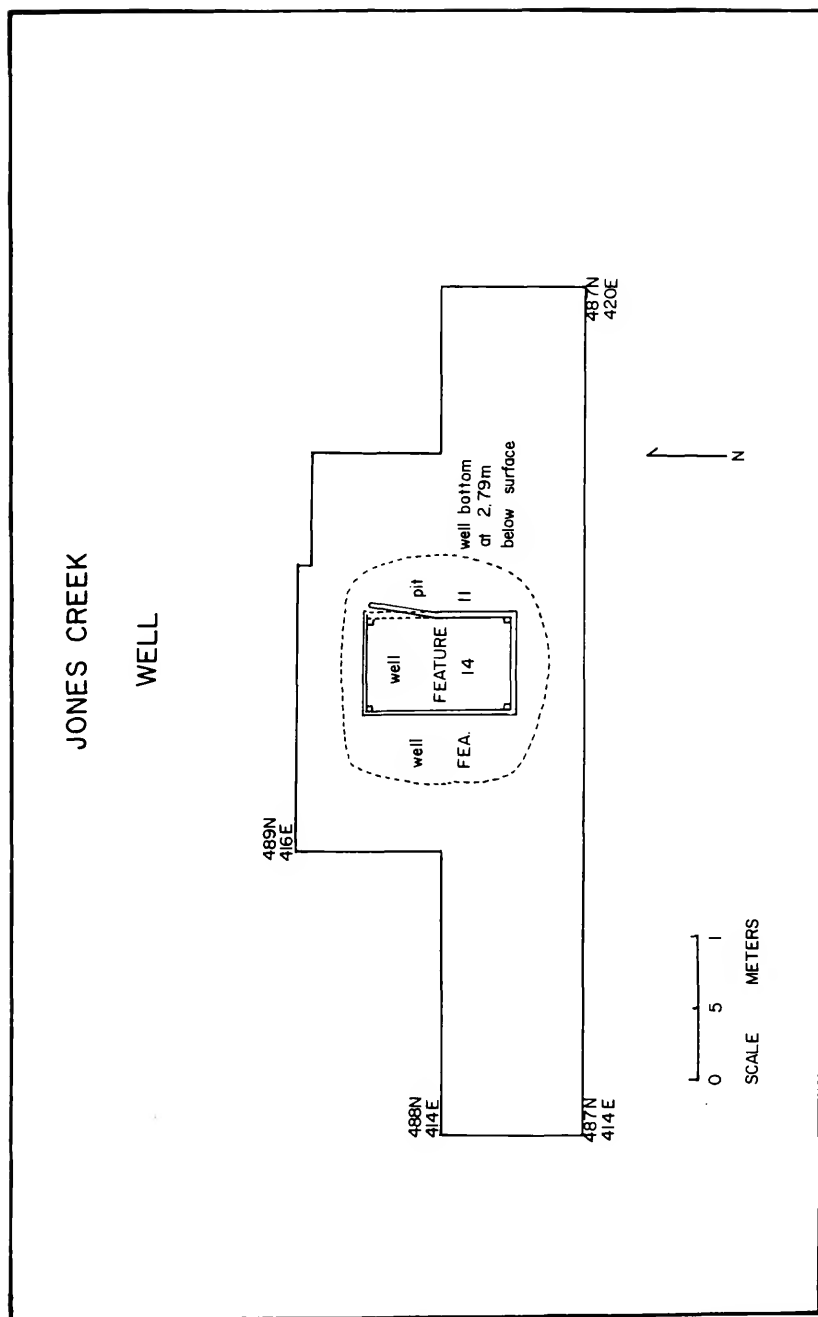




FIGURE 61  
JONES - WELL TIMBER

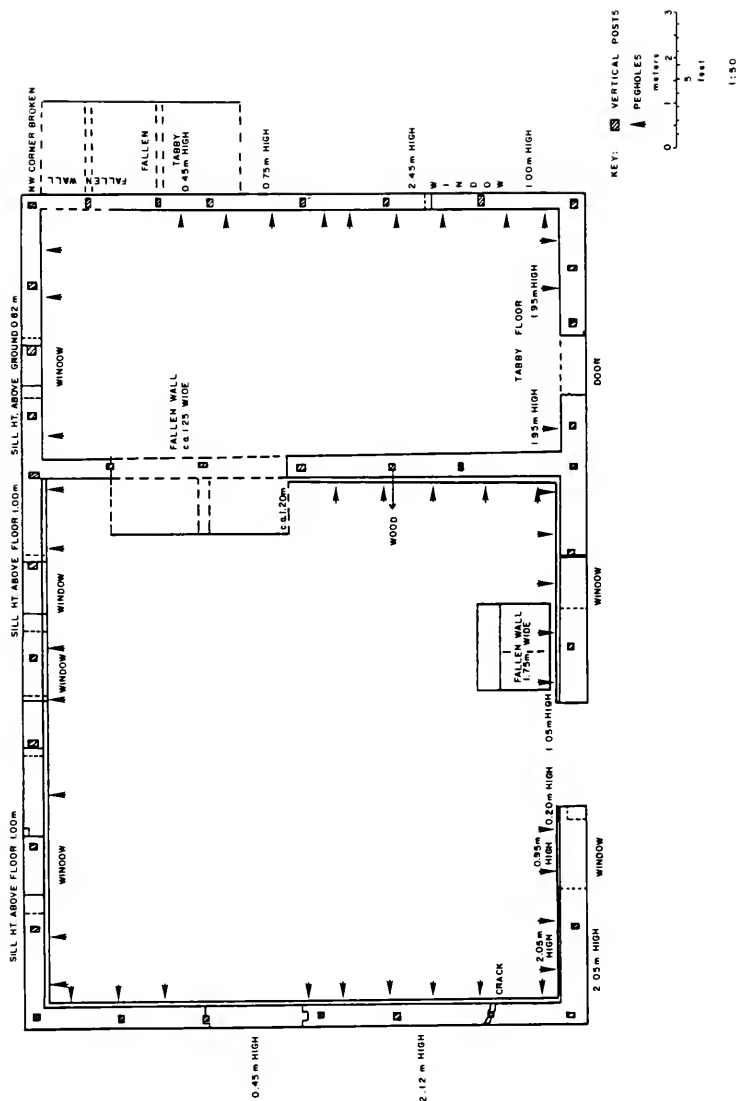


FIGURE 62  
JONES - WELL BOTTOM



## JONES CREEK COTTON BARN

SIS 2

FIGURE 63  
JONES CREEK COTTON BARN PLAN

# JONES CREEK GIN BARN

## NORTH ROOM INTERIOR EAST WALL

SIS 2

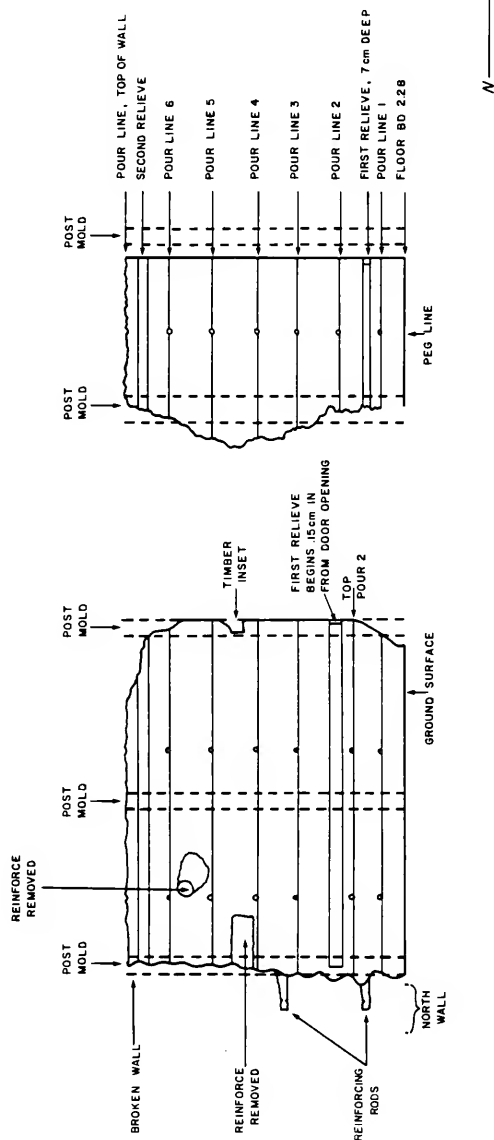


FIGURE 64  
JONES CREEK GIN BARN

R. OWENS '79

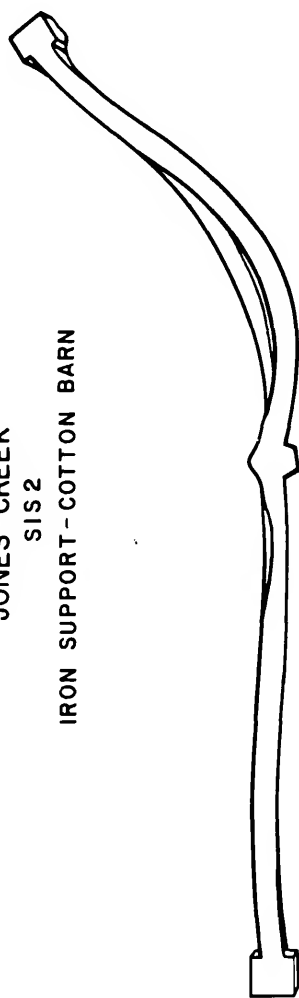
1:20

meters

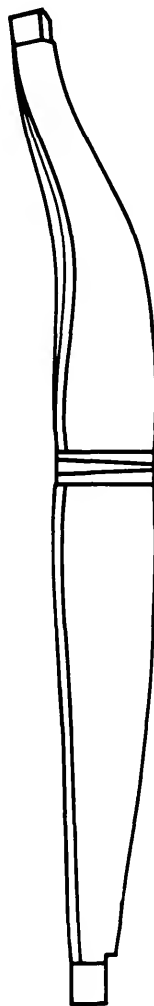
feet

0 1 3

JONES CREEK  
SIS 2  
IRON SUPPORT - COTTON BARN



TOP



FRONT

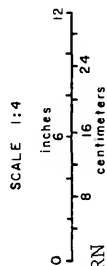


FIGURE 65

JONES CREEK IRON SUPPORT - COTTON BARN

FIGURE 66  
JONES - COTTON BARN  
NORTH ROOM





FIGURE 67  
JONES - CERAMICS

- A) Annular Pearlware
- B, C) Handpainted Pearlware
- D) Combed Annular Ware
- E) Handpainted Pearlware
- F) Annular Ware Embedded in Tabby

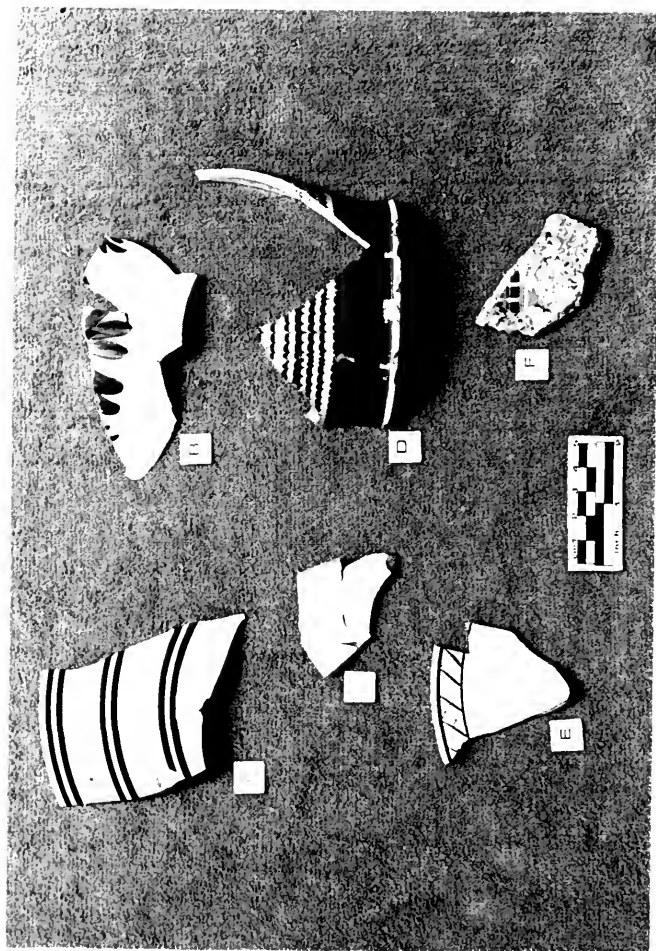


FIGURE 68  
JONES - PHARMACEUTICAL BOTTLES

- A) Simmons Liver Regulator
- B) C. Ellis & Co. Philadelphia
- C) ...B.L. ...Shinstocks Vermifuge
- D) Possible Horse Liniment Bottle
- E) Solomons Druggists, Savannah
- F) Stopper Bottle Top
- G) Panel Bottle



FIGURE 69  
JONES - METAL ARTIFACTS

- A) Tin Can Base
- B) Pothooks
- C) Tin Can Base
- D) Farrier's Knife
- E, F) Hooks

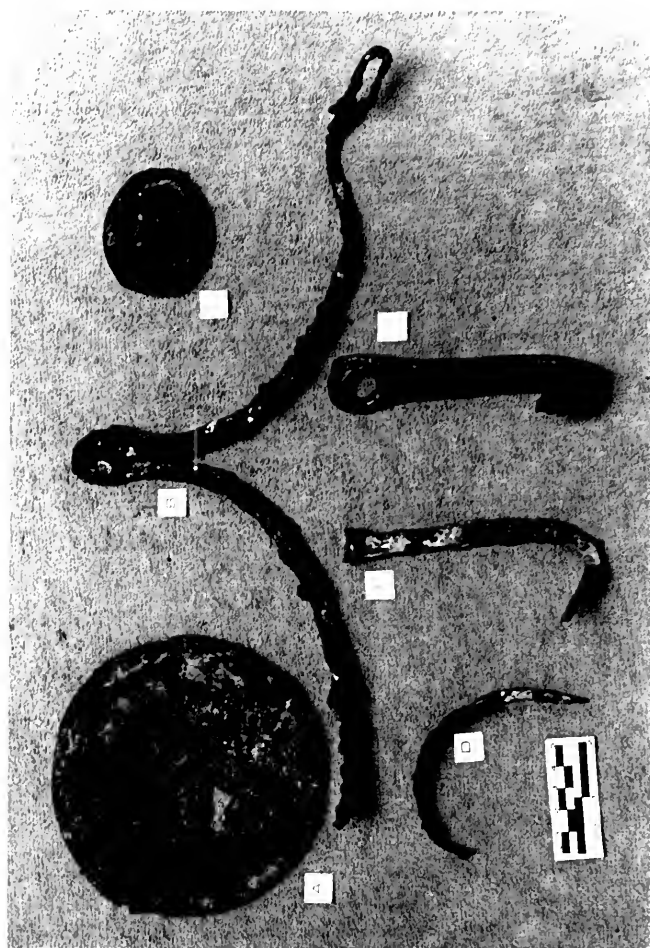


FIGURE 70  
JONES - METAL ARTIFACTS

- A) Eye Rod
- B) Shutter Hook
- C) Hinge
- D) Strap Hinge
- E, F) Lock Plates



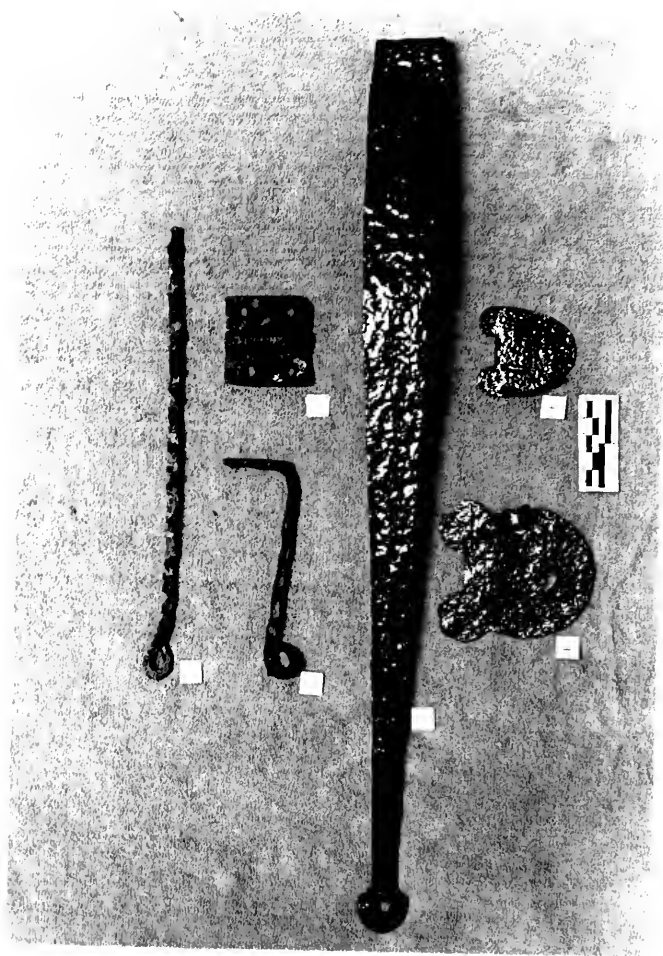


FIGURE 71  
JONES - ARMS AND FISHING ARTIFACTS

- A) Lead Shot and Drilled Lead Shot (Sinkers)
- B) Gunflints
- C) Brass Trigger Guard
- D) Possible Ramrod Holder

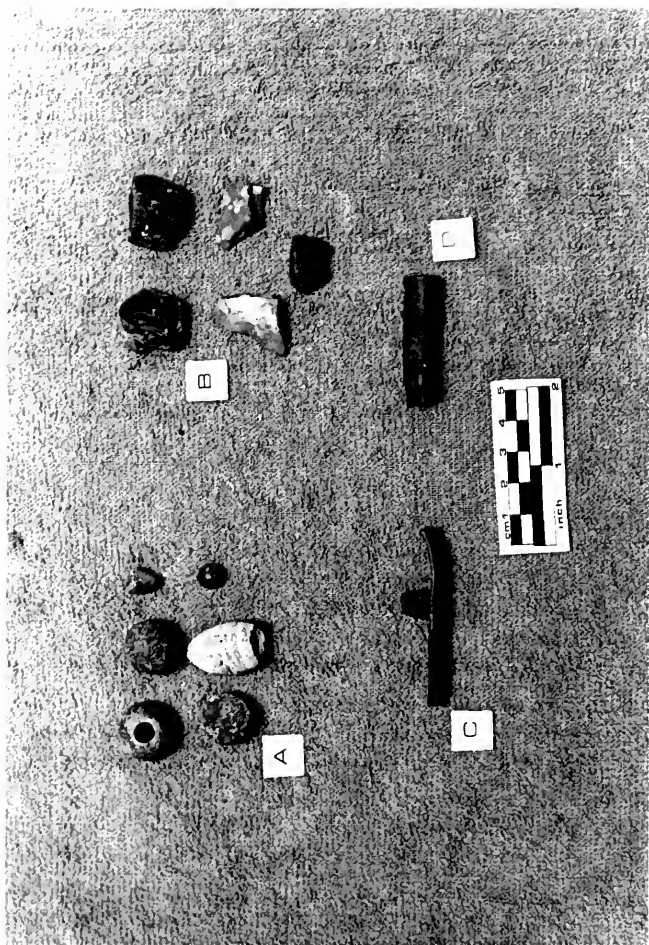
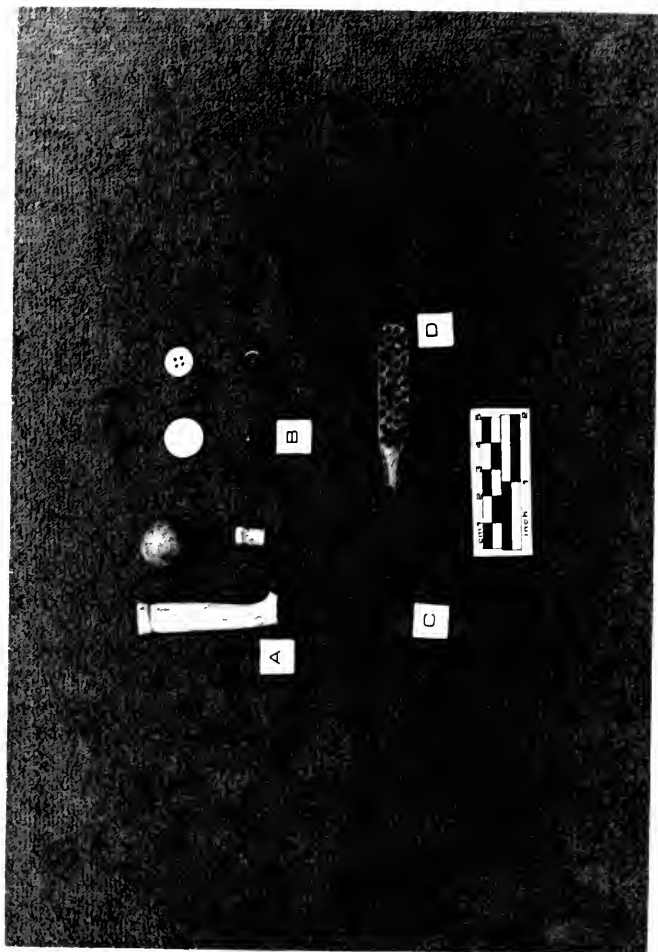


FIGURE 72  
JONES - PERSONAL USE ARTIFACTS

- A) Toys
- B) Buttons
- C) Unknown, Possible Perfume Stopper
- D) Toothbrush



## CHAPTER 5 HYPOTHESES AND PATTERNS

To test the hypotheses of Chapter 1 and derive meaningful artifact patterns, it was necessary to make comparisons not only between and within the sites excavated for this study, but with other pertinent coastal sites as well. Specifically, comparisons were made with data from Cannon's Point, Butler Island, and Kingsley plantation sites. In the case of Kingsley plantation, there was insufficient evidence to derive detailed data on artifact groups. Only an artifact profile will be presented. Table 47 gives the artifact profiles of the different sites. Even though it was intended that this artifact profile derivations should pertain to barrier island plantations, because of the comparable nature of all coastal plantations, the data from Butler Island was included (Singleton 1980:216). This inclusion was reinforced by the fact that Hampton plantation and Butler Island were under one owner. The broad implications of the artifact profiles will be considered later in this chapter. The following sections examine the individual groups.

It must be noted that the artifact profiles for Kingsley and the Sinclair slave context were corrected .

to allow for the fact that these were tabby constructions. The Sinclair correction was done in the same manner as the correction previously made for Kingsley, by adding an amount of nails proportionate to what would have been present if the structure were frame (Singleton 1980:213). There are, admittedly, problems with making such an adjustment, but it seem to give a more comparable artifact profile.

This correction is just one example of a number of problems in pattern recognition or derivation which should be noted at this point. One of the worst problems is that of disproportionate sample size in sites being compared. This bias can occur in both the total amount of dirt processed, and the resulting artifact count (which two factors may or may not be directly related). At this point, no studies have been done to determine the optimum sample size for the pattern methodology, but certainly markedly disproportionate samples may cause bias in results and interpretations. This bias may be particularly prevalent in the "rare" artifact groups such as activities, arms, and personal (see Table 47). One way to avoid this problem may be by using a sort of weighted average determined from cubic volume of earth processed for each of the site patterns.

Another sampling problem occurs because different functional areas of sites are excavated. These sites are then compared as if there were a uniform distribution of

artifacts. Almost certainly, structural and non-structural areas are not going to yield the same percentages of architectural group artifacts. This bias may also be evident in special activity areas. When comparing and interpreting artifact patterns, this problem needs to be carefully considered.

One problem discussed in the comparison of the artifact profiles in Table 47 was the small sample size in the "rare" artifact groups. It is difficult to assess the significance of any differences in this group because of the scarcity of artifacts. These artifact groups are particularly sensitive to biases of sample size or site function.

It is particularly difficult when using the data of other researchers to assess the amount of bias in the results. Table 47 presents all of the artifact counts used in this study. At this point, other than the previously mentioned example, no corrections have been made for sample size or site function. It is felt that further research into possible corrections for these biases needs to be made. Hasty corrections made now may only compound the problems.

#### Kitchen Artifact Group

The percentage of kitchen group artifacts ranges from 20.01% at Butler Island to 67.24% at the Cannon's Point



planter site. Within the slave sites considered, kitchen artifacts account for no more than 30% (using the adjusted profiles for Sinclair and Kingsley). This relatively low amount of kitchen group artifacts is almost certainly indicative of the low social and economic status of the slave. It is significant to note that the highest percentage of kitchen group remains in the slave sites occurs at Jones, the largest plantation site. This would, at this point, support Hypothesis 1, that plantation size would affect the material living conditions of the site inhabitants. At the same time, the lowest percentage of kitchen artifacts occurs at Butler Island, part of the same plantation. Singleton (1980:217) suggests that one factor accounting for this very low amount of kitchen related artifacts is the fact that the Butler Island slaves were depositing most of their trash in the river, leading to a disproportionate amount of architectural items. Such would seem to be the case from the artifact profiles. At Sinclair, the percentage of kitchen artifacts in the slave context is 22.16%. As this is the smallest slave site represented, the lower proportion of kitchen artifacts was expected according to Hypothesis 1. Kingsley and Cannon's Point have almost the same percentage of kitchen group artifacts in the slave context. As they are almost the same size, this was expected.

The next socioeconomic level, the overseer, is represented by only one site, Cannon's Point. Access to the overseer's site at Hampton was limited to architectural data and it is likely that neither Pike's Bluff nor Sinclair had overseers. In the case of Kingsley, this is unknown. As expected the proportion of kitchen group artifacts at the overseer's site falls between the slave and planter range, at 41.61% of the total assemblage. This indicates that while the overseer had larger quantities of non-necessity items (i.e. ceramics, wine) than the slave, he did not have the economic ability of the planter to purchase a larger number of these items.

When considering the planter contexts, it is significant to note that at Pike's Bluff, probably the smallest plantation, kitchen artifacts are less numerous when compared to other planter sites. In fact, at 45.86%, they come closer to the Cannon's Point overseer site than any other context. This again would tend to support Hypothesis 1 as it was expected that the planter at Pike's Bluff would have less to spend on non-necessity items than the larger planters. Cannon's Point and Sinclair show almost the same amount of kitchen related artifacts. It was expected that the percentage of kitchen artifacts at Sinclair would fall somewhere between Pike's Bluff and Cannon's Point. No reason for this larger than expected frequency was apparent.

Within the kitchen artifact group, ceramics appear to be a sensitive indicator of plantation size and relative socioeconomic status. As Otto had previously noted, both form and type were diagnostic factors. When examining types, it was found that proportions of annular and transfer printed wares were the most sensitive to socioeconomic nature of the site (Otto 1975:220; Singleton 1980:148). Table 48 gives the percentages of these ceramics out of the total ceramic assemblage of each site. As can be seen, it seems that with the exception of Sinclair, the annular wares are much higher on slave sites, while transfer printed wares are more prevalent in planter contexts. Sinclair is a problem primarily because it is earlier than the other sites and was not occupied as late. Transfer printed ceramics had not yet reached their peak of production. Butler Island shows a particularly large quantity of annular wares, particularly when compared to Jones. Because they had the same owner, it would be expected that if the planter were providing their ceramics, the percentages would be comparable. The disproportionate amounts would lead to the suggestion that the slaves were purchasing at least part of their ceramics themselves. The Butler Island slaves, being close to Darien, had a much better opportunity to do so (Singleton 1980:154). Annular wares being relatively inexpensive would have been purchased more often than

transfer printed wares which were more expensive. This is reinforced by the comparable percentage of transfer printed wares at Jones and Butler Island.

Table 49 presents comparative site data on ceramic pricing levels. This seems to reinforce the annular ware-transfer printed dichotomy. Again, Sinclair is an anomaly for the same reasons. If levels 1 and 2 are combined and levels 3 and 4 are also added together, the difference in ceramic assemblages can best be seen. At Cannon's Point 85% of the ceramics come from levels 3 and 4, while at no other site did these two levels account for more than 36%. Even at Pike's Bluff, levels 3 and 4 were only 31% of the total. While it was not expected that this figure would be so low, this does point out that small planters could not afford the more expensive ceramics and that their tableware was much the same as the overseer and slave (in type).

The Cannon's Point northern slave group had a relatively high percentage of levels 3 and 4 ceramics. One reason for this may be in the probable domestic status of these slaves (Otto 1975). Hypothesis 3 will examine this evidence more fully.

Form, as well as type, has been found to be a status indicator on plantation sites. For the purpose of comparison, ceramic form was grouped by holloware and flatware. This was necessitated largely by the different

cataloging of the sites (Otto 1975; Singleton 1980). No other data was available on Kingsley. The results of this examination are presented in Table 50. As can be seen, ceramic form does seem to be an accurate indicator of site status. The highest percentage of flatware does seem to occur on high status sites with the exception of Pike's Bluff. Again, the small planter appears to have a lower status material culture resulting from the fact that he had less money to spend on non-essential items. The quantity of flatware at Pike's Bluff is comparable to the northern slave site at Cannon's Point. As previously mentioned, pricing levels for some forms have been recently developed (Miller 1980:10-11). Flatware forms are more expensive than holloware, with the exception of cups. The archeological assemblage appears to reflect this difference. At Jones and Butler Island, hollowares are 80% of the identifiable ceramic forms. Both of these are field slave sites. At Cannon's Point (north) and Sinclair, which are both probably domestic slave sites, there are higher percentages of flatware. It is possible that some of these are planter discards (Otto 1975:173) or it is possible that their favored status allowed them greater access to these forms, either by issue or purchase (Owens 1976:106-120). The ceramic forms of the Cannon's Point overseer are much like the

forms at the Sinclair and Cannon's Point planter sites. The fact that they indicate a higher status site than those at Pike's Bluff is puzzling, such was not expected, nor indicated by the other data.

The ceramic data from these sites would tend to support Hypothesis 1, that size of the plantation affects the material culture assemblage of the site's inhabitants. In the status indicators of ceramic type and form, there appears to be a continuum of availability (or presence) from slave to planter with overlap where the economic positions of the site inhabitants overlap. In other words, the planter at Pike's Bluff had much the same material culture as the overseer at Cannon's Point because they had similar economic resources.

### Architecture Group

#### Artifacts

The architecture group, for the most part, responds in an inverse manner to the kitchen group, therefore on sites where there is a high proportion of kitchen related artifacts, there are low amounts of architecture remains. Since it has been shown that there are higher amounts of kitchen group artifacts on higher status sites, this would correlate high amounts of architecture items on lower status sites. It is believed that this is a function of the fact that higher status individuals had more

money to spend on non-essential (i.e. ceramics, personal use items) artifacts.

On slave sites of the study, there were high percentages of architectural items (66-76%) while planter sites were concomitantly lower in these items. Pike's Bluff and the overseer's site at Cannon's Point show similar amounts of architectural items, another indication that while these inhabitants may not have been of the same social status, they occupied the same economic level.

#### Housing Differences

The housing differences on the plantations of this study seem to follow much the same pattern as those Otto found at Cannon's Point. Higher status was correlated primarily with number of enclosed rooms and secondarily with available living space.

At Pike's Bluff, while exact size of the planter's house could not be determined from the remaining ruins or documents, the hearth base was of a size comparable to one at Wormsloe plantation. The associated structure measured  $32\frac{1}{2}$  X 24 feet and had five rooms (Kelso 1971:35). The house at Pike's Bluff was obviously frame and of a less substantial nature than the planter's houses at Hampton, Cannon's Point and Sinclair. The only other structure on the site was a privy.

The planter at Sinclair occupied a tabby house with a central hall and at least two rooms (probably 4) downstairs.

There were probably two or four rooms upstairs as well. The presence of a detached kitchen and at least one storage structure is also known. The slave at Sinclair lived in a one rooms tabby structure with a loft and probably had no subsidiary structures.

Housing at Jones consisted of a duplex cabin divided into two dwelling units, each measuring 7 X 4 meters. They were frame construction with a dirt floor. Each cabin probably had a loft. Subsidiary structures were communal rather than for individual units.

Table 51 presents the available data on living space and number of rooms on coastal plantation sites. It was difficult in some cases to assess number of rooms from the existing archeological remains. It was also hard to assess number of occupants from the documentary data. At the Sinclair slave site, no figures for number of slave cabins were available, so the cited number of 5.2 slaves per cabin was used (Fogel and Engerman 1974: 115).

The slave sites all appear to have similar room arrangement, one undivided room with a loft. The planter's number of rooms is more varied ranging from a possible five at Pike's Bluff to as many as 16 at Cannon's Point (Otto 1975:136). The Cannon's Point overseer had four rooms which approaches the lower end of the planter range.



At all of the slave sites, with the exception of Butler Island, the available living space per person is about 50 feet<sup>2</sup>. Butler Island is double this figure, and no reason is apparent, especially since Butler Island and Jones were part of the same estate.

At Pike's Bluff, the tentative figure arrived at was 130 feet<sup>2</sup> per person. This is based on a hypothetical house size and the number of inhabitants listed on the 1840 U.S. Census. This is a relatively low figure for a planter site, not even as great as the overseer at Cannon's Point. This may be another suggestion of the sparse living conditions of the small planter. The other planter sites seem to indicate that their higher status afforded them more living space, approximately 350 feet<sup>2</sup> per person.

It should also be noted that building material seems to indicate status in some cases. The Pike's Bluff planter's house was frame while at Sinclair and Cannon's Point, the structures had substantial tabby components.

#### Activities, Arms, Clothing, Personal, Tobacco

These groups are considered together as they are generally a small proportion of the artifact assemblage, and their significance is difficult to assess as previously discussed. It is proposed that activities, arms, and clothing might be grouped together under the heading

of subsistence and maintenance artifacts, while personal and tobacco items can be grouped together under the heading of personal use items.

It was expected that when this was done, a pattern might show of more personal use items on higher status sites. Such did not prove to be the case, in fact, there appeared to be a rather random distribution of these artifacts. Butler Island presented a particular anomaly with 9.78% tobacco pipes, far outside the range of any other site.

It would seem then that none of the other groups (activities, arms, clothing, personal or tobacco) are of significant size to indicate a pattern related to social or economic status. Perhaps larger samples (more sites) may better determine this.

#### Faunal Group

The material from this group was examined to assess the expected probability that differences in diet occurred as a result of social or economic status. Because the data were insufficient, Butler Island and Kingsley were excluded from this study. For Cannon's Point, biomass figures had to be quantified, these are presented in Tables 52-54.

As previously discussed, Otto found that percentage of domestic and non-domestic fauna in the assemblage

appeared to be sensitive to status of the site occupant. In addition, habitat exploitation and cut of meat also seemed to be related to status. Higher status sites showed lower percentages of domestic animal species, better cuts of meat and a wider variety of ecological zones exploited. Conversely, low status sites showed high proportions of domestic species, poor cuts of meat and a narrower environmental range exploited. In this study, only the domestic/non-domestic dichotomy will be examined.

Table 55 presents a comparison of domestic and non-domestic animal use on the study sites. When examining the table, it can be seen that there may be a serious problem with the data. There is a marked difference in the percentages of weight and biomass between the Cannon's Point sites and the other sites. It is suspected that screen size may have seriously affected the results from Sinclair, Pike's Bluff, and Jones. Domestic species, with larger bones, may well be overrepresented in the samples of these sites. This means that comparisons between Cannon's Point and the other sites may lead to spurious conclusions. It is felt, however, that some comparisons within each of these groups (Cannon's Point; Sinclair, Pike's Bluff and Jones) can be made. The possible biases should affect each group separately in the same manner.

As it can be seen, when biomass calculations were made for Otto's data, the differences in planter, overseer, and slave use of domestic and non-domestic animals narrowed somewhat. There is a difference of only 4.3% between planter and slave use of the animals. This may not be enough to be a good indicator of site status. While it is known that the slave was getting domestic species with few bones (barreled pork), the significance of this cannot be assessed from the archeological record. It should also be noted, in the case of Cannon's Point, the sample from the overseer's house is extremely small and may not, therefore, be wholly reliable (Wing and Brown 1979:120).

When examining the data from Sinclair, Jones, and Pike's Bluff, it can be seen that domestic species are the overwhelming majority of the sample by bone weight (80.8-88.3%). Biomass indicates a somewhat different picture with domestic species accounting for between 53.5% and 64.8%. The reason for these differences lies in the fact that weight is a fixed measurement while biomass calculations vary with class and species. Different constants are used for the different species (Table 3). Biomass is, therefore, a more reliable method of determining the actual species exploitation on a site.

Within the Sinclair site, Otto's findings seem to be confirmed. There is a greater use of domestic species at the slave site when compared to the planter's

assemblage. Jones and Pike's Bluff are not so easy to assess. Pike's Bluff shows the highest proportion of domestic species among all the study sites. Evidently this planter site does not follow the Cannon's Point pattern.

One reason which could be suggested for this (besides the problem with bias) is that a small planter would have less time to devote to wild resource collection. With probably no overseer, and few slaves, more time and effort would be put towards making a cash crop and less towards subsistence collection. Domestic species would be easier to obtain.

Jones shows a higher percentage of non-domestic species than might be expected for a slave site. It is believed that the primary factor in this greater use of non-domestic resources is that, Jones, being a large plantation, would have had certain slaves who collected these resources. The presence of slave fishermen for Hampton plantation has already been mentioned (King 1820). A large plantation would be able to delegate these tasks as full time occupations. This, in turn, could lead to more wild species in the slave diet. This might be particularly true in the case of Hampton where there was no resident planter to receive these resources.

It can be seen then, that the domestic and non-domestic animal use does seem to be an indicator of site status and that it is affected by plantation size. The

economic resources of the large plantation were such to allow for a more varied diet. The small planter had to make do with the more easily obtained domestic species.

As a further indication of status differences, diet variety indicated by number of species present at each site was examined. These figures were:

Cannon's Point - 43

Sinclair Planter - 38

Pike's Bluff Planter - 24

Cannon's Point Overseer - 25

Cannon's Point Slave - 28

Jones - 34

Sinclair Slave - 11

It is apparent that the planter's diet was the most varied, but that as the economic level within this class decreased, the diet became correspondingly less varied. Again, Pike's Bluff and the Cannon's Point overseer show a distinct similarity indicating that they may have existed at comparable economic levels. Site size also seems to affect the variety of the slave diet, as previously proposed, with more species present at Jones than any of the other slave sites. It is felt that the sample size from Sinclair (slave context) may have affected species number. How much is not known.

## Discussion of Hypotheses

### Hypothesis 1

To reiterate Hypothesis 1, it was proposed that artifact patterns on plantations, regardless of whether it was a planter, overseer, or slave context, would vary with size of the plantation. This was proposed to be a function of the socioeconomic status of the planter. It was hypothesized that these differences would be reflected in the frequencies of the various artifact groups. It was expected that as plantation size increased, there would be larger quantities of kitchen related artifacts at the expense of architectural items. The affect of the other groups was tentatively proposed to be an increase in personal and tobacco group artifacts, and a decrease in activity, arms, and clothing group items as plantation size increased.

The comparison of artifact profiles in Table 47 presents evidence for the support of Hypothesis 1. It can be seen that at Cannon's Point, the largest planter site, the kitchen group artifacts were much more numerous than at Pike's Bluff, the smallest planter site. To test the significance of this difference a Z test statistic was computed:

$$H_0: u_1 = u_2$$

$$H_a: u_1 > u_2$$

$$a = .05$$

$$z = \frac{(\bar{Y}_2 - \bar{Y}_1)}{s \sqrt{\bar{Y}_2 - \bar{Y}_1}}$$

$$z = \frac{(45.86 - 67.24)}{2.04}$$

$$z = -10.48$$

At the .05 level of significance then,  $H_0$  was rejected and it was concluded that the difference in frequency of kitchen related artifacts at Cannon's Point and Pike's Bluff was significant. Therefore it is felt that plantation size, and concomitant economic level of the planter, is reflected in the artifact profile and that kitchen group artifacts are at least one indication of this. When the same process was repeated for architectural group artifacts, the same results were reached, that there was a significant difference between Pike's Bluff and Cannon's Point. This was expected since kitchen and architectural group artifact frequencies seem to act inversely.

Because of the small sample size of the other artifact groups, a Z test statistic could not be computed. It has been previously noted that these groups do not appear to act in any patterned manner and therefore, at this point, they are not felt to be reliable indicators of site status or size.



With only one overseer site there was insufficient data to assess any difference within this socioeconomic level. It is perhaps more significant to note the similar artifact profiles of Pike's Bluff and the Cannon's Point overseer. It appears that, despite that fact that these individuals do not occupy the same social level, they do have similar economic positions. It can be suggested then, that economic level of a site's inhabitant, as well as social status, is a determinant of the artifact pattern or profile.

The Z test procedure was, again, applied to the slave sites, particularly Jones and Sinclair. Jones represented the upper end of the size scale while Sinclair was the smallest slave site available. Again it was found that the differences were significant. This would indicate that the economic level of the planter can be seen not only in his artifact profile, but in the slaves under his control. The larger the plantation, the better (in the sense of number of non-essential items) the material culture.

### Hypothesis 2

It was proposed that within sites, artifact profiles would be more comparable (similar) on small plantations than on large. In other words, the artifact frequencies of the kitchen and architecture groups will show less difference between planter and slave contexts on a small

site, than planter and slave contexts on a large site.

For this hypothesis the artifact profiles of Cannon's Point (planter and slave) were compared to the artifact profiles of Sinclair (planter and slave). Tests of significance (Z tests) were computed for kitchen artifact frequencies within each site and it was found that from this data, Hypothesis 2 could not be supported. The fundamental problem was felt to be that data was needed from a smaller site (i.e. Pike's Bluff). Sinclair, from the documentary data on Alexander Wylly, could be considered a medium sized plantation with approximately 40 slaves. A smaller site might yield different results.

### Hypothesis 3

This hypothesis proposes that there will be significant differences in the artifact profiles of domestic and field slaves. For the purpose of testing this hypothesis, the artifact profiles of Jones and Cannon's Point (north slave cabin group only) were compared. It had previously been planned to use the artifact profile from Sinclair for this test, but because of the already demonstrated effect of plantation size on the artifact profile, a slave site from a more comparable sized plantation was needed. The northern group of slave cabins at Cannon's Point was judged to be the best choice.

It was not necessary to compute a test statistic for this hypothesis. Jones had a 3.5% greater frequency of kitchen related artifacts than the Cannon's Point north group. This figure would not indicate a higher status for domestic slaves. It would instead, indicate that the Jones inhabitants were enjoying better material living conditions. Domestic or field status would not seem to have any effect. Hypothesis 3 is, therefore, not supported from this data. It is felt, however, that when more data becomes available this hypothesis should be tested again. The extremely large size of Hampton plantation may place Jones at the upper end of the slave economic scale and this may have affected the results.

TABLE 47  
COMPARISON OF ARTIFACT PROFILES

Location	Kitchen	Arch.	Activ.	Arms	Cloth.	Pers.	Tob.	Total
Cannon's Point Planter %	2492 67.24	1156 31.19	1 .03	1 .03	29 .78	1 .03	26 .70	3706
Sinclair Planter %	2329 66.60	1083 30.97	10 .28	2 .06	14 .40	5 .14	54 1.54	3497
Pike's Bluff Planter %	886 45.86	955 49.43	12 .62	0	19 .98	3 .15	57 2.95	1932
Cannon's Point Overseer %	687 41.61	868 52.57	7 .42	5 .30	33 2.00	4 .24	47 2.85	1651
Cannon's Point Slave %	2771 25.84	7613 70.84	25 .23	8 .08	112 1.05	12 .11	178 1.67	10754
Jones Slave %	1740 29.27	3915 65.86	31 .52	20 .34	76 1.28	11 .18	151 2.54	5944
Sinclair Slave* %	550 22.16	1875 75.54	8 .32	1 .04	16 .64	2 .08	29 1.17	2482

Table 47 - continued

Location	Kitchen	Arch.	Activ.	Arms	Cloth.	Pers.	Tob.	Total
Butler Island	1325	4494	26	15	111	5	642	6619
Slave %	20.01	67.90	.39	.23	1.68	.08	9.70	
Kingsley*	1385	3950	12	10	18	5	15	2198
Slave %	25.66	73.23	.22	.18	.34	.09	.28	

TABLE 48  
COMPARISON OF % OF ANNULAR AND TRANSFER  
PRINTED WARES ON COASTAL SITES

Site	% Annular*	% Transfer* Printed
Cannon's Point		
Planter	1.1	74.9
Sinclair		
Planter	3.2	7.8
Pike's Bluff		
Planter	2.8	21.9
Cannon's Point		
Overseer	16.9	17.8
Cannon's Point		
North Slave	21.6	22.7
Cannon's Point		
South Slave	16.3	8.4
Jones		
Slave	14.6	7.1
Sinclair		
Slave	1.9	19.6
Butler Island		
Slave	52.9	6.7

\* - Out of total ceramic assemblage

TABLE 49  
COMPARISON OF SITES BY CERAMIC PRICING LEVELS

Site	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Total
Cannon's Point Planter %	221 11.7	64 3.4	79 4.2	1520 80.7	1884
Sinclair Planter %	719 58.2	338 27.3	69 5.6	110 8.9	1236
Pike's Bluff Planter %	308 50.4	116 19.0	29 4.7	158 25.9	611
Cannon's Point Overseer %	232 48.8	119 25.1	30 6.3	94 19.8	475
Cannon's Point North Slave %	107 20.3	232 43.9	35 6.6	154 29.2	528
Cannon's Point South Slave %	56 36.2	59 38.1	25 16.0	15 9.7	155
Jones Slave %	346 49.9	197 28.4	93 13.4	58 8.3	694
Sinclair Slave %	211 61.7	30 8.8	34 9.9	67 19.6	342
Butler Island Slave %	217 46.0	190 40.2	48 10.2	17 3.6	472

TABLE 50  
COMPARISON OF SITES BY CERAMIC FORM

Site	Holloware	Flatware	Total
Cannon's Point			
Planter	134	160	294
%	45.6	54.4	
Sinclair			
Planter	93	118	211
%	44.1	55.9	
Pike's Bluff			
Planter	68	37	105
%	64.8	35.2	
Cannon's Point			
Overseer	57	70	127
%	44.9	55.1	
Cannon's Point			
Slave	69	43	112
%	61.6	38.4	
Jones			
Slave	234	55	289
%	81.0	19.0	
Sinclair			
Slave	35	14	49
%	71.4	28.6	
Butler Island			
Slave	44	11	55
%	80.0	20.0	



TABLE 51  
COMPARISON OF SITES BY HOUSING DIFFERENCES

Site	# Rooms	Available Living Space/person
Cannon's Point Planter	up to 16	322.5 ft. <sup>2</sup>
Sinclair Planter	8 ?	380.2 ft. <sup>2</sup>
Pike's Bluff Planter	5 ?	130.0 ft. <sup>2</sup>
Cannon's Point Overseer	4	197.5 ft. <sup>2</sup>
Cannon's Point Slave	1	51.8 ft. <sup>2</sup>
Jones Slave	1	44.3 ft. <sup>2</sup>
Sinclair Slave	1	46.4 ft. <sup>2</sup>
Butler Island Slave	1	106.7 ft. <sup>2</sup>

TABLE 52  
FAUNAL DATA - CANNON'S POINT  
PLANTER

Species	Weight	%	MNI	%	Biomass	%
<u>Bos taurus</u>	893.5	22.8	1	.5	7.93	8.9
<u>Sus scrofa</u>	107.7	4.4	5	2.7	4.89	5.5
cf. <u>Ovis aries</u>	200.7	5.1	5	2.7	3.88	4.4
<u>Odocoileus virginianus</u>	23.4	.6	1	.5	1.08	1.2
<u>Artiodactyl</u>	7.4	.2	1	.5	.45	.5
<u>Procyon lotor</u>	16.0	.4	5	2.7	1.45	1.6
<u>Didelphis virginianus</u>	3.0	.1	2	1.1	.58	.7
<u>Mustela vison</u>	1.5	*	3	1.6	.56	.6
<u>Sulvilagus sp.</u>	2.4	.1	3	1.6	.56	.6
<u>Rattus norvegicus</u>	1.2	*	3	1.6	**	**
<u>Mus musculus</u>	.2	*	2	1.1	**	**
cf. <u>Neotoma floridana</u>	.2	*	2	1.1	**	**
<u>Uniden. Rodentia</u>	.5	*	--	--	**	**
<u>Uniden. Mammal</u>						
large	888.5	22.7	--	--	8.30	9.4
small	51.4	1.3	--	--	3.81	4.3
indet	152.7	3.9	--	--	4.15	4.7
<u>Gallus gallus</u>	5.5	.1	3	1.6	.79	.9
<u>Uniden. Aves</u>	37.6	1.0	--	--	2.17	2.4
<u>Malaclemys terrapin</u>	410.8	10.5	14	7.6	5.39	6.1
<u>Chrysemys sp.</u>	40.1	1.0	4	2.2	1.92	2.2
<u>Chelydra serpentina</u>	.6	*	1	.5	.31	.3
<u>Trionyx ferox</u>	82.3	2.1	7	3.8	2.67	3.0
<u>Kinosternon cf. subrubrum</u>	.8	*	2	1.1	.54	.6
<u>Chelonidae</u>	78.5	2.0	--	--	2.62	3.0
<u>Uniden. Chelonia</u>	248.0	6.3	--	--	3.81	4.3
<u>Alligator mississippiensis</u>	23.8	.6	3	1.6	1.00	1.1
cf. <u>Coluber constrictor</u>	.1	*	1	.5	.06	.1
<u>Elaphe sp.</u>	.3	*	2	1.1	.14	.2

Table 52 - continued

Species	Weight	%	MNI	%	Biomass	%
Uniden. serpentes	.2	*	--	--	.12	.1
<u>Charcharhinus sp.</u>	.3	*	1	.5	.26	.3
<u>Myliobatidae</u>	14.0	.4	5	2.7	2.55	2.9
<u>Dasyatidae</u>	3.7	.1	5	2.7	1.87	2.1
<u>Clupeidae</u>	.8	*	3	1.6	.56	.6
<u>Lepisosteus sp.</u>	16.8	.4	4	2.2	1.34	1.5
<u>Acipenser oxyrinchus</u>	19.8	.5	4	2.2	1.26	1.4
<u>Mugil sp.</u>	1.9	*	6	3.2	.72	.8
<u>Paralichthyes sp.</u>	1.0	*	5	2.7	.51	.6
<u>Bairdiella chrysura</u>	.7	*	3	1.6	.46	.5
<u>Bagre marinus</u>	67.3	1.7	18	9.7	2.42	2.7
<u>Arius felis</u>	31.6	.8	19	10.3	1.84	2.1
<u>Ariidae</u>	63.1	1.6	13	7.0	2.41	2.7
<u>Archosargus probatocephalus</u>	41.1	1.1	8	4.3	2.07	2.3
<u>Caranx hippos</u>	.3	*	1	.5	.14	.2
<u>Carangidae</u>	.1	*	--	--	.18	.2
<u>Leiostomus xanthurus</u>	.2	*	2	1.1	.24	.3
<u>Menticirrhus cf. americana</u>	.3	*	2	1.1	.27	.3
<u>Cynoscion regalis</u>	.5	*	3	1.6	.54	.6
<u>Chnoscion nothus</u>	.1	*	1	.5	.12	.1
<u>Micropogon undulatus</u>	1.0	*	5	2.7	.63	.7
<u>Pogonias cromis</u>	29.3	.7	4	2.2	2.16	2.4
<u>Sciaenops ocellatus</u>	6.4	.2	3	1.6	1.01	1.1
<u>Sciaenidae</u>	21.2	.5	--	--	1.70	1.9
<u>Uniden. Osteichthyes</u>	196.2	5.0	--	--	4.16	4.7
<u>Uniden. Bone</u>	53.8	1.4	--	--	--	--
TOTALS	3913.4	99.7	185	99.7	88.60	99.7

TABLE 53  
FAUNAL DATA - CANNON'S POINT  
OVERSEER

Species	Weight	%	MNI	%	Biomass	%
<u>Bos taurus</u>	58.4	15.2	1	2.5	1.92	5.4
<u>Sus scrofa</u>	49.2	12.8	2	5.0	3.39	9.6
<u>Procyon lotor</u>	6.5	1.7	1	2.5	1.36	3.8
<u>Didelphis virginianus</u>	6.9	1.8	1	2.5	1.77	5.0
<u>Felis catus</u>	1.9	.5	1	2.5	.47	1.3
<u>Sylvilagus sp.</u>	.4	.1	1	2.5	.40	1.1
<u>cf. Sciurus carolinensis</u>	.1	*	1	2.5	.08	.2
<u>cf. Oryzomys palustris</u>	.3	.1	1	2.5	.24	.7
<u>Neotoma floridana</u>	.2	*	1	2.5	**	**
<u>Uniden. Mammal</u>						
large	119.8	31.3	--	--	4.92	13.9
small	20.3	5.3	--	--	2.77	7.8
indeterminate	14.2	3.7	--	--	2.12	6.0
<u>Gallus gallus</u>	.7	.2	1	2.5	.16	.5
<u>Uniden. Aves</u>	11.5	3.0	--	--	1.61	4.5
<u>Malaclemys terrapin</u>	50.8	13.3	3	7.5	2.89	8.1
<u>Chelydra serpentina</u>	9.0	2.3	1	2.5	.82	2.3
<u>Uniden. Chelonia</u>	3.7	1.0	--	--	1.05	3.0
<u>Masticophis flagellum</u>	.7	.2	1	2.5	.20	.6
<u>Dasyatidae</u>	.1	*	1	2.5	.17	.5
<u>Lepisosteus osseus</u>	.8	.2	1	2.5	.56	1.6
<u>Bagre marinus</u>	3.0	.8	2	5.0	.69	1.9
<u>Arius felis</u>	4.3	1.1	5	12.5	1.16	3.3
<u>Ariidae</u>	2.1	.5	--	--	.69	1.9
<u>Mugil sp.</u>	1.0	.3	3	7.5	.88	2.5
<u>Clupeidae</u>	.1	*	1	2.5	.10	.3
<u>Archosargus probatocephalus</u>	1.4	.4	3	7.5	.57	1.6
<u>cf. Bairdiella chrysura</u>	.2	*	2	5.0	.30	.8

Table 53 - continued

Species	Weight	%	MNI	%	Biomass	%
<u>Centropriestes striatus</u>	.2	*	1	2.5	.24	.7
<u>Micropogon undulatus</u>	.6	.2	2	5.0	.63	1.8
<u>Pogonias cromis</u>	.4	.1	1	2.5	.39	1.1
<u>Sciaenops ocellatus</u>	.8	.2	2	5.0	.47	1.3
<u>Sciaenidae</u>	2.7	.7	--	--	.69	1.9
<u>Uniden. Osteichthyes</u>	9.6	2.5	--	--	1.76	5.0
<u>Uniden. Bone</u>	1.3	.3	--	--	--	--
TOTALS	383.2	99.8	40	100.0	35.47	100.0

TABLE 54  
FAUNAL DATA - CANNON'S POINT  
NORTH SLAVE CABINS

Species	Weight	%	MNI	%	Biomass	%
<u>Bos taurus</u>	157.4	11.7	3	3.3	2.71	6.4
<u>Sus scrofa</u>	86.5	6.4	3	3.3	2.64	6.3
cf. <u>Ovis aries</u>	43.0	3.2	2	2.2	1.54	3.7
<u>Procyon lotor</u>	7.4	.6	2	2.2	.86	2.0
<u>Didelphis virginianus</u>	23.0	1.7	2	2.2	1.19	2.8
<u>Oryctolagus cuniculus</u>	.7	.1	1	1.1	.25	.6
<u>Sylvilagus sp.</u>	2.2	.2	1	1.1	.52	1.2
<u>Mustela vison</u>	.4	*	1	1.1	.21	.5
<u>Neotoma floridana</u>	.3	*	1	1.1	.19	.5
<u>Uniden. Mammal</u>						
large	526.3	39.2	--	--	5.51	13.1
small	47.1	3.5	--	--	2.74	6.5
indeterminate	71.4	5.3	--	--	2.53	6.0
<u>Gallus gallus</u>	8.8	.6	3	3.3	.84	2.0
<u>Fallus longirostris</u>	.3	*	1	1.1	.11	.3
<u>Uniden. Aves</u>	25.0	1.9	--	--	1.59	3.8
<u>Malaclemys terrapin</u>	58.9	4.4	3	3.3	2.03	4.8
<u>Trionyx ferox</u>	.3	*	1	1.1	.25	.6
<u>Uniden. Chelonia</u>	41.7	3.1	--	--	1.73	4.1
<u>Acipenser oxyrhincus</u>	.3	*	1	1.1	.22	.5
<u>Lepisosteus sp.</u>	6.7	.5	3	3.3	1.11	2.6
<u>Paralichthys sp.</u>	.8	.1	3	3.3	.44	1.0
<u>Bairdiella chrysura</u>	.6	*	2	2.2	.35	.8
<u>Archosargus probatocephalus</u>	1.3	.1	2	2.2	.34	.8
<u>Mugil sp.</u>	3.7	.3	7	7.7	.92	2.2
<u>Bagre marinus</u>	13.4	1.0	4	4.4	1.18	2.8
<u>Arius felis</u>	10.5	.8	6	6.6	1.02	2.4
<u>Ariidae</u>	49.6	3.7	25	27.5	1.44	3.4
<u>Menticirrhus cf. americana</u>	.2	*	2	2.2	.24	.6
<u>Cynoscion nebulosus</u>	.4	*	1	1.1	.18	.4
<u>Cynoscion sp.</u>	.8	.1	3	3.3	.57	1.4

Table 54 - continued

Species	Weight	%	MNI	%	Biomass	%
Pogonias cromis	41.9	3.1	3	3.3	1.94	4.6
Sciaenops ocellatus	3.1	.2	2	2.2	.69	1.6
Sciaenidae	20.8	1.5	--	--	1.37	3.3
Uniden. Osteichthyes	56.5	4.2	--	--	1.99	4.7
Uniden. bone	30.3	2.3	--	--	--	--
TOTALS	1342.7	99.9	91	100.1	42.06	99.8

TABLE 55  
COMPARATIVE DOMESTIC AND NON-DOMESTIC ANIMAL USE

Site	Weight	%	Rel. %	Biomass	%	Rel. %
Cannon's Point - Planter						
Domestic*	2158.9	55.2	58.8	25.79	29.1	31.3
Non-domestic	1510.4	38.6	41.2	56.49	63.8	68.7
Indeterminate	244.1	6.2		6.32	7.1	
Sinclair - Planter						
Domestic*	3762.1	68.4	80.8	48.38	46.0	53.5
Non-domestic	892.2	16.2	19.2	41.96	39.8	46.5
Indeterminate	844.5	15.4		14.94	14.2	
Pike's Bluff - Planter						
Domestic*	2031.9	70.3	81.8	34.23	58.7	64.8
Non-domestic	453.3	15.7	18.2	18.60	31.9	33.2
Indeterminate	407.0	14.1		5.50	9.4	
Cannon's Point - Overseer						
Domestic*	230.0	60.0	64.6	10.86	30.6	34.2
Non-domestic	126.2	32.9	35.4	20.88	58.9	65.8
Indeterminate	27.0	7.1		3.73	10.5	
Cannon's Point - Slave						
Domestic*	822.7	61.3	67.7	13.49	32.1	35.6
Non-domestic	393.3	29.3	32.3	24.45	58.1	64.4
Indeterminate	126.7	9.4		4.12	9.8	
Jones - Slave						
Domestic*	2040.5	62.7	81.5	57.23	48.7	57.4
Non-domestic	463.2	14.2	18.5	42.45	36.1	42.6
Indeterminate	749.6	23.0		17.77	15.1	



Table 55 - continued

Site	Weight	%	Rel. %	Biomass	%	Rel. %
Sinclair - slave						
Domestic*	387.7	69.0	88.3	9.75	47.5	61.9
Non-domestic	51.3	9.1	11.7	6.00	29.2	38.1
Indeterminate	122.8	21.9		4.77	23.3	

\* - includes large mammal

## CHAPTER 6

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The barrier island plantation was among the richest groups of plantations in the antebellum south. This made for some extremely wealthy planters and very large plantations. These planters were able to control not only their own material living conditions, but to affect those of their hired help (overseers) and those of their chattel property (slaves). In addition to very large planters, this region had both moderate and small planters. While they occupied a lower economic level, they, too, were able to affect the material living conditions of their charges. The archeological record has been able to demonstrate ample evidence of the effect economic level has on these plantation sites.

At Jones, a slave settlement of a very large plantation, slaves had rather sparse material culture, but when compared to other slave sites of smaller plantations, these slaves were found to have a higher status material culture indicating a higher economic level. This slave enjoyed a rather varied diet and was probably well taken care of medically.

At the Sinclair slave site, data again presented a low status material culture. It has been predicted that

these slaves might enjoy a higher standard of living because of their supposed occupation as domestic servants. Such was not apparent from the artifact assemblage. Their housing, however, was better than average with tabby floors and at least partial tabby walls. This contradiction suggests that this problem needs to be examined further as additional data become available.

The planter occupants of Sinclair appear from the documents to have occupied a medium level economically. This is reflected in the archeological assemblage. Housing was substantial, comparable to the planter's house at Cannon's Point, only smaller.

Pike's Bluff was an example of the material living conditions on a small planter site. The planter's house was frame as compared to the tabby main house at Sinclair. Diet was less varied than at other planter sites and it appeared that the material culture was dominated by more items of necessity.

These sites were compared to other coastal sites and it could be seen that there was a continuum of economic levels, from the slave on a moderate sized plantation to a large planter. It is hoped that additional data can be obtained to fill in the missing or underrepresented parts of this scale.

The derivation of one artifact pattern for the barrier island plantation would be a useless gesture.

The data presented in this study have indicated that the material culture assemblage, and therefore the pattern, is partially a function of the economic level of the planter. Economic resources were controlled by the planter who distributed them among the people in his charge, the overseer, and slave. As the economic resources of the planter increase (number of slaves being used as the economic index), there is a rise not only in the material living conditions of the planter, but in those of his charges as well.

The status indicators of ceramic form and type proposed by Otto (1975:220) have been shown to be reliable indicators of both social and economic position on the sites of this study. They compare with the artifact profiles in their confirmation of Hypothesis 1. Higher status ceramic forms (flatwares) were shown to occur more on higher status sites, but plantation size controlled their relative frequency. Smaller planter sites have smaller quantities of flatware when compared to larger planters. The same result occurred when examining ceramic types. Annular and transfer printed wares were shown to be indicators of site status. As site status increase, the percentage of transfer printed wares increased, but again plantation size controlled their relative frequencies.

Faunal data presented a somewhat confusing picture because of the bias of some of the samples. A broad pattern of increased use of non-domestic species with increased plantation size and status seems to occur.

From the data presented, Hypotheses 2 and 3 could not be supported. It is highly recommended that as further data becomes available, these hypotheses be re-examined. It would be possible from the data presented to derive patterns for the planter, overseer, and slave, but it might be better to label these patterns upper, middle, and lower economic level artifact patterns. It would be very difficult for someone working with a site of unknown social status to tell whether they had material from a small planter or an overseer, but by examining the profiles presented in this study, they would be able to assess the economic level of the site inhabitant.

It is felt that this study has demonstrated that the fundamental utility of patterns or pattern recognition (profiles) lies in their ability to indicate underlying cultural processes. By examining the artifact profiles of this study, it has been shown that the economic level, as well as social status, affected the material living conditions on plantation sites. Future excavations on other plantations should be able to build from this data.

APPENDIX  
COMMON NAMES FOR DISCUSSED FAUNAL SPECIES

Bos taurus - domestic cow  
Sus scrofa - domestic pig  
Ovis aries - domestic sheep  
Capra hircus - domestic goat  
Odocoileus virginianus - white-tailed deer  
Artiodactyla - even-toed mammal  
Felis catus - domestic cat  
Lutra canadensis - otter  
Procyon lotor - raccoon  
Didelphis virginianus - opossum  
Mustela vison - mink  
Oryctolagus cuniculus - domestic rabbit  
Sylvilagus palustris - marsh rabbit  
Sylvilagus sp. - rabbit  
Scalopus sp. - mole  
Sciurus sp. - squirrel  
Rattus norvegicus - Norway rat  
Rattus sp. - old world rat  
Mus musculus - house mouse  
Neotoma floridana - florida wood rat  
Oryzomys palustris - rice rat  
Rodentia - rodents  
Gallus gallus - domestic chicken

Meleagris gallopavo - turkey

Rallus longirostris - clapper rail

Buteo sp. - hawk

Ardea herodias - great blue heron

Corvidae - crows and jays

Anatidae - ducks

Anas strepera - gadwall

Anas discors - blue winged teal

Bubulcus ibis - white ibis

Phalacrocorax auritus - cormorant

Malaclemys terrapin - diamondback terrapin

Chrysemys sp. - cooters and sliders

Chrysemys scripta - yellow bellied turtle

Chelydra serpentina - snapping turtle

Trionyx ferox - soft shell turtle

Kinosternidae - mud and musk turtles

Kinosternon cf. subrubrum - eastern mud turtle

Kinosternon bauri - mud turtle

Cheloniidae - sea turtles

Dierochelys reticularia - chicken turtle

Gopherus polyphemus - gopher tortoise

Terrapene carolina - box turtle

Alligator mississippiensis - alligator

Coluber constrictor - racer

Elaphe sp. - rat snake

Masticophis flagellum - eastern coach whip

Charcharhinus sp. - requiem shark

Myliobatidae - eagle rays

Dasyatidae - sting rays

Clupeidae - herrings

Lepisosteus sp. - gar

Acipenser oxyrinchus - sturgeon

Mugil sp. - mullet

Paralichthyes sp. - flounder

Bairdiella chrysura - silver perch

Bagre marinus - gafftopsail catfish

Arius felis - sea catfish

Ariidae - catfish

Archosargus probatocephalus - sheepshead

Caranx hippos - crevalle jack

Carangidae - jacks

Leiostomus xanthurus - spot

Menticirrhus americana - southern kingfish

Cynoscion regalis - weakfish

Cynoscion nothus - silver seatrout

Cynoscion nebulosus - spotted sea trout

Micropogon undulatus - Atlantic croaker

Pogonias cromis - black drum

Sciaenops ocellatus - red drum

Sciaenidae - drums

Centropristes sp. - sea bass



ABBREVIATIONS USED IN REFERENCES

- BP - Butler Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania,  
Philadelphia #1447
- WP - Wister Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania  
Philadelphia (Butler Section)
- HSP - Historical Society of Pennsylvania

# REFERENCES CITED

- Adams, William H., and Linda P. Gaw  
1977 A model for determining time lag of ceramic artifacts. Northwest Anthropological Research Notes, 11 (2):218-231.
- Ascher, Robert, and Charles H. Fairbanks  
1971 Excavations of a slave cabin: Georgia, U.S.A. Historical Archeology, 5:3-17.
- Benedict, Ruth  
1934 Patterns of culture. Houghton-Mifflin, New York.
- Binford, Lewis  
1962 A new method for calculating dates from kaolin pipestem fragments. Southeastern Archeological Conference Newsletter, 9 (1):19-21.
- Blue, Alexander  
1847 Letter, BP, Box 13.  
  
1848 Letter. BP, Box 13.
- Bonner, James C.  
1965 Plantation and farm: the agricultural south. In Writing Southern History - Essays in Honor of Fletcher M. Green, ed. by Arthur S. Link and Rembert W. Patrick, Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge.
- Braley, Chad O.  
1980 The mean ceramic date formula and antebellum plantation sites: chronology vs. culture process. Paper presented at the 21st Conference on Historic Site Archeology, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.  
  
n.d. Report on several plantation sites in the King's Bay locale. In progress.
- Brunswick Advocate  
1838 Melancholy occurrence. Dec. 6th Newspaper. On Microfilm, University of Georgia, Athens.

## Butler Papers

Various manuscripts. Collection # 1447, HSP.

1793 List of slaves taken to Hampton. Box 3, HSP.

1799 Box 7, HSP.

1801 Box 3, HSP.

1803 Box 6, HSP.

1806 Misc. Folder, HSP.

1821 Box 3, HSP.

1825 Box 3, HSP.

1837 Pierce Butler letter book, HSP.

1848 Box 13, HSP.

1877 Inventory, Box 13, HSP.

## Cate, Margaret Davis

1956 The original houses of Frederica, Georgia: the Hawkins-Davison houses. Georgia Historical Quarterly, 40:203-212.

## Chapman, G.P.

1977 Human and environmental systems: a geographers appraisal. Academic Press, New York.

## Cooney, Lorraine

1976 Garden history of Georgia, 1733-1933. The Peach-tree Garden Club, Atlanta, (1933). Reprinted 1976, Garden Club of Georgia.

## Drucker, Lesley M., and Ronald W. Anthony

1979 The Spiers Landing site: archeological investigations in Berkeley County, South Carolina. Carolina Archeological Services, Columbia, South Carolina.

## Eaton, Clement

1961 The growth of southern civilization, 1790-1860. Harper and Row, New York.

## Fairbanks, Charles H.

1956 The excavation of the Hawkins-Davison houses, Frederica National Monument, St. Simon's Island, Georgia. Georgia Historical Quarterly, 40:213-229.

- 1974 The Kingsley slave cabins in Duval County, Florida, 1968. Conference on Historic Site Archeology Papers, 7:62-93.
- 1977 Backyard archeology as a research strategy. Conference on Historic Site Archeology, 11:133-139.
- n.d. Personal communication.
- Ferguson, Leland
- 1980 Looking for the "Afro" in colono-Indian pattern. In Archeological Perspectives on Ethnicity in America, edited by Robert L. Schuyler, pp. 14-28, Baywood Publishing, Farmingdale, New York.
- Flanders, Ralph B.
- 1933 Plantation Slavery in Georgia. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
- Floyd, Marmaduke
- 1937 Certain tabby ruins on the Georgia coast. In Georgia's Disputed Ruins, ed. by E. Merton Coulter, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
- Fogel, Robert W., and Stanley L. Engerman
- 1974 Time on the cross: the economics of American negro slavery. Little, Brown, and Co., Boston.
- Fontana, Bernard L.
- 1965 The tale of a nail: on the ethnological interpretation of historic artifacts. Florida Anthropologist, 18 (3):85-102.
- Fortson, Ben W.
- 1972 English crown grants for islands in Georgia, 1755-1775. Surveyor General's Office, Atlanta.
- Garrow, Patrick
- 1981 Investigations of Yaughan and Curriboo plantations. Paper presented at the Society for Historical Archeology Meetings, New Orleans, Louisiana.
- n.d. Personal communication.
- Genovese, Eugene D.
- 1974 Roll, Jordan, roll. Pantheon Books, New York.
- Georgia Historical Society
- n.d. Deed for Hampton Point, James Graham to Pierce Butler.

Gibbs, Tyson, Kathleen Cargill, L.S. Lieberman, and Elizabeth Reitz

- 1980 Nutrition in a slave population: an anthropological examination. Medical Anthropology, 3:175-262.

Glynn County Probate Court

- 1857 Probate inventory of Thomas F. Hazzard. Book F, pp. 270-271.

Glynn County Superior Court

- n.d. Resurvey of Pike's Bluff lands. Deed Book CD, p. 477.

1768 Deed Book CD, pp. 1-7.

1790 Deed Book ABEF, pp. 33-37.

1791 Deed Book ABEF, pp. 37-39.

1800 Deed Book CD, p. 483.

1807 Deed Book G, p. 59.

1809 Deed Book G, pp. 91-94.

1809b Deed Book G, pp. 47, 52, 53, 85.

1810 Deed Book G, pp. 94-95.

1827 Deed Book H, p. 430.

1856 Deed Book N, p. 237.

Godden, Geoffrey A.

- 1964 Encyclopedia of British pottery and porcelain marks. Bonanza Books, New York.

Good, Mary E.

- 1972 Guebert site: an eighteenth century historic Kaskaskia Indian village. Central States Archeological Society, Memoir No. 2.

Gray, Lewis C.

- 1941 History of agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860. Peter Smith, New York.

Gritzner, Janet B.

- 1978 Tabby in the coastal southeast: the culture history of an American building material. Ph.D. Dissertation, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.

Hamilton, Jennifer M.

- 1980 Early history and excavation of the LeConte-Woodmanston plantation. M.A. Thesis, University of Florida.

Hawes, Lila B.

- 1956 The Papers of Lachlan McIntosh. Georgia Historical Quarterly, 40:170-171.

Hazzard, William W.

- 1974 St. Simon's Island, Georgia, Brunswick, and vicinity. Reprint of the original 1825 edition, ed. by Virginia Wood, Oak Hill Press, Belmont Massachusetts.

Heard, George A.

- 1938 St. Simon's Island during the war between the states. Georgia Historical Quarterly, 22:249-272.

Hechtlinger, Adelaide

- 1970 The great patent medicine era. Galahad Books, New York.

Hilliard, Sam B.

- 1972 Hog meat and hoe cake: food supply in the old south 1840-1860. Southern Illinois Press, Carbondale.

Honerkamp, Nicholas

- 1975 The material culture of Fort Frederica, the Thomas Hird lot. M.A. Thesis, University of Florida.
- 1980 Frontier process in eighteenth century colonial Georgia: an archeological approach. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Florida.

Houston-Wyllly Papers

- 1827 Letter, December 30, author unknown. Georgia Historical Society Library, Savannah.

Hoyt, John H.

- 1967 Barrier island formation. Geological Society of America Bulletin, 78:1125-1136.

Johnson, A.S., H.S. Hillestad, S.F. Shanholtzer, and G.G. Shanholtzer

- 1974 An ecological survey of the coastal region of Georgia. National Park Service Scientific Monograph Series, No. 3, Washington, D.C.

Johnson, Robert E.

- 1978 Archeological excavations of 9Cam167 and 9Cam173 at King's Bay, Camden County, Georgia. Report for the Department of the Navy, on file at the Department of Anthropology, University of Florida.

Kelson, William

- 1971 Captain Jones' Wormsloe. Ph.D. Dissertation, Emory University.

Kemble, Fanny A.

- 1961 Journal of a residence on a Georgian plantation in 1838-39. Ed. by John A. Scott, Alfred A. Knopf, New York.

King, Roswell

Various manuscripts located in Boxes 9-12 of BP, HSP. Arranged in chronological order, therefore designation of Jr. and Sr. are not used.

1803 letter May 13, BP, HSP.

1803b letter January, BP, HSP.

1804 letter March 16, BP, HSP.

1806 letter Aug. 16, BP, HSP.

1806b letter Nov. 22, BP, HSP.

1809 letter Aug. 5th, BP, HSP.

1810 letter May, BP, HSP.

1811 letter May 4th, BP, HSP.

1812 letter Nov. 15th, BP, HSP.

1813 letter Sept. 20, BP, HSP.

1813b letter June 20th, BP, HSP.

1813c letter Aug. 22, BP, HSP.

1814 letter May 15, BP, HSP.

1816 letter May 19, BP, HSP.

1816b letter March 3rd, BP, HSP.

1818 letter Aug. 29th, BP, HSP.

- 1820 letter May 29th, BP, HSP.
- 1822, letter May 6th, WP, Box 40, Folder 1, HSP.
- 1824 letter May 9th, WP, Box 40, Folder 3, HSP.
- 1824b letter July 11th, WP, Box 40, Folder 1, HSP.
- 1824c letter Nov. 14th, WP, Box 40, Folder 1, HSP.
- 1827 letter Sept. 2nd, BP, HSP.
- 1828 letter Feb. 3rd, BP, HSP.
- 1828b letter Jan. 13th, BP, HSP.
- 1829 letter Nov. 15th, BP, HSP.
- 1830 letter Aug. 22, BP, HSP.
- 1832 letter March 22nd, BP, HSP.
- 1832b letter July 4th, BP, HSP.
- 1834 letter March 30th, BP, HSP.
- 1835 letter Jan. 4th, BP, HSP.
- 1837 letter March 27th, BP, HSP.
- 1841 letter Jan. 23, BP, HSP.
- 1854 letter June 10th, BP, HSP.
- Kroeber, A.L.  
 1948 Culture patterns and processes. Harcourt, Brace and World, New York.
- Lees, William B., and Kathryn M. Kimery-Lees  
 1979 The function of colono-Indian ceramics: insights from Limerick plantation, South Carolina. Historical Archeology, 13:1-13.
- Leigh, Frances B.  
 1957 Ten years on a Georgian plantation, since the war. Lost Cause Press, Louisville, Kentucky.
- Lewis, Bessie  
 1974 Patriarchial plantations of St. Simon's Island. No publisher given.
- 1978 Hampton plantation. Plantations of Coastal Georgia # 1. Argyle Publications, St. Simon's Island, Georgia.



- Linton, Ralph B.  
 1973 Status and role. In High Points in Anthropology, ed. by Paul Bohannon and Mark Glazer, Alfred A. Knopf, New York.
- Long, David D.  
 1912 Soil survey of Glynn County, Georgia. Washington, D.C., Govt. Printing Office.
- Luscomb, Sally C.  
 1972 The collectors encyclopedia of buttons. Crown Publishers, New York.
- Marrinan, Rochelle A.  
 1975 Ceramics, molluscs and sedentism: the late Archaic period on the Georgia coast. Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Florida.
- Martinez, Carlos A.  
 1975 Culture sequence on the central Georgia coast, 1000 B.C. - 1650 A.D. M.A. Thesis, University of Florida.
- May, Philip S.  
 1945 Zephaniah Kingsley, non-conformist (1765-1843). Florida Historical Quarterly, 23 (3):145-159.
- McDonald-Taylor, Carol  
 1962 A dictionary of marks. Hawthorn Books, New York.
- McFarlane, Suzanne S.  
 1975 The ethnoarcheology of a slave community: the Couper plantation. M.A. Thesis, University of Florida.
- McIntosh, Lachlan  
 1783 Letter to John McIntosh (son) and John McIntosh (brother). Charles F. Jenkins Collection, HSP.
- Menn, John K.  
 1964 The large slaveholders of Louisiana - 1860. Pelican Publishing Co., New Orleans.
- Miller, George L.  
 1980 Classification and scaling of 19th century ceramics. Historical Archeology, 14:1-40.
- Moore, Sue Mullins  
 1981 Archeological survey and testing on St. Simon's Island, Georgia. Report on file, Department of Anthropology, University of Florida.

Mullins, Sue A.

- 1978 An archeological survey of Butler Point, St. Simon's Island, Georgia. Report on file, Department of Anthropology, University of Florida.

Nash, Gary B.

- 1970 Class and society in early America. Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.

Newman, T. Stell

- 1970 A dating key for post-eighteenth century bottles. Historical Archeology, 4:70-75.

Noel-Hume, Ivor

- 1967 Rhenish gray stoneware in colonial America. Antiques, September 1967, pp. 349-353.

- 1969 A guide to artifacts of colonial America. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.

Otto, John S.

- 1975 Status differences and the archeological record: a comparison of planter, overseer, and slave sites from Cannon's Point plantation (1794-1861), St. Simon's Island, Georgia. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Florida.

- 1977 Artifacts and status differences: a comparison of ceramics from planter, overseer, and slave sites on an antebellum plantation. In Research Strategies in Historical Archeology, ed. by Stanley South, pp. 91-116, Academic Press, New York.

Oswald, Adrian

- 1975 Clay pipes for the archeologist. British Archeological Reports 14, London.

Owens, Leslie H.

- 1976 This species of property: slave life and culture in the old south. Oxford University Press, New York.

Patterson, James

- 1801 Letter to Pierce Butler, Aug. 1st, BP, Box 6, HSP.

Porter, N. Teulon

- 1953 The N. Teulon Porter collection of mocha pottery. City of Stoke-on-Trent Museum and Art Gallery, Hanley, England.

Postell, William D.

- 1951 The health of slaves on southern plantations.  
Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.

Price, Cynthia

- 1979 19th century ceramics in the eastern Ozark border region. Center for Archeological Research,  
Southwest Missouri State University, Springfield.

Prunty, Merle, Jr.

- 1955 The renaissance of the southern plantation.  
Geographical Review, 45 (4):459-491.

Reitz, Elizabeth

- 1978 Faunal remains from a costal Georgia plantation (KBS 12) with reference to KBS 8. Report to the Department of the Navy, on file, Department of Anthropology, University of Florida.

- 1979 Spanish and British subsistence strategies at St. Augustine, Florida, and Frederica, Georgia, between 1565 and 1783. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Florida.

n.d. Personal communication.

Savitt, Todd L.

- 1978 Medicine and slavery: the diseases and health care of blacks in antebellum Virginia. University of Illinois Press, Urbana.

Scarborough, William K.

- 1966 The overseer: plantation management in the old south. Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge.

Scott, John A.

- 1961 Introduction to Journal of a residence on a Georgian plantation 1838-39, by Frances A. Kemble. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.

Singleton, Theresa

- 1980 The archeology of Afro-American slavery in coastal Georgia: a regional perception of slave household and community patterns. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Florida.

Sloane, Eric

- 1964 A museum of early American tools. Balantine Books, New York.

South, Stanley S.

- 1964 Analysis of the buttons from Brunswick Town and Fort Fisher. Florida Anthropologist, 17 (2): 113-133.
- 1975 Pattern recognition in historical archeology. Conference on Historic Site Archeology Papers, 10:153-155.
- 1977 Method and theory in historical archeology. Academic Press, New York.

Stampp, Kenneth

- 1956 The peculiar institution: slavery in the antebellum south. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.

Steward, Julian

- 1955 Theory of culture change. University of Illinois Press, Urbana.

Time-Life

- 1980 Encyclopedia of collectibles, inkwells to lace. Time-Life, New York.

U.S. Bureau of the Census

- 1820 Glynn County, microfilm.
- 1820 McIntosh County, microfilm.
- 1830 Glynn County, microfilm.
- 1830 McIntosh County, microfilm.
- 1840 Glynn County, microfilm.
- 1840 McIntosh County, microfilm.
- 1850 Glynn County, microfilm.
- 1860 Glynn County, microfilm.

U.S. Geological Survey

- 1869 Map of Altamaha sound and vicinity.

Van DeBerg, William

- 1979 The slave drivers: black agricultural labor supervisors in the antebellum south. Greenwood press, London.

VanderSleen, W.G.N.

- n.d. A handbook on beads. Liberty Cap Books, York, Pennsylvania (1967).

- Van Rensselaer, Susan  
 1978 Banded creamware. In English Pottery and Porcelain: A Historical Survey, ed. by Paul Atterburn, pp. 240-244, Universe Books, New York.
- Vanstory, Burnette  
 1970 Georgia's land of the golden isles. University of Georgia Press, Athens.
- Von Bertalanfy, Ludwig  
 1975 Perspectives on general systems theory. George Braziller, New York.
- Wallace, Ronald L.  
 1975 An archeological, ethnohistorical, and biochemical investigation of the Guale Indians of the Georgia coastal strand. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Florida.
- Watkins, Malcom  
 1970 Artifacts from the sites of three 19th century houses and ditches at Darien Bluff, Georgia. University of Georgia Laboratory of Archeology Series, Report # 9, Athens.
- Wheaton, Thomas  
 1981 Architecture at Curriboo and Yaughan plantations. Paper presented at the Society for Historical Archeology meetings, New Orleans, Louisiana.
- Wigginton, Elliot  
 1979 Foxfire 5. Anchor Books, New York.
- Wing, Elizabeth, and Antoinette Brown  
 1979 Paleonutrition: method and theory in prehistoric foodways. Academic Press, New York.
- Wister Papers  
 1815 Estate Inventory, HSP.  
 1851 Letter book p. 377, HSP.  
 1893 Map of property drawn by Frances Butler Leigh, HSP.  
 1894 Letter, undated, HSP.
- Woodman, Harold D.  
 1968 King cotton and his retainers: financing and marketing the cotton crop of the south, 1800-1925. University of Kentucky Press, Lexington Kentucky.

Woofter, T.J., Jr.

- 1930 Black yeomanry: life on St. Helena Island.  
Henry Holt and Co., New York.

Wright, Gavin

- 1970 Economic democracy and the concentration of  
agricultural wealth in the cotton south, 1850-  
1860. Agricultural History, 44:63-94.

Wylly, Charles S.

- n.d. These memories. Cloves Bros., Brunswick.  
Glynn County Public Library.

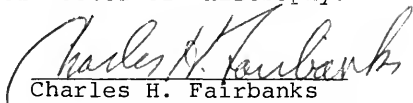
Yeoma, R.S.

- 1970 A guide book of United States coins, 23rd edition.  
Wester Publishing Co., Wisconsin.

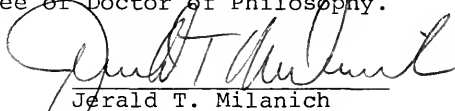
#### BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Sue Mullins Moore was born April 4th, 1954, to James C. and Mary H. Mullins. She attended public school in Gainesville, Florida. Upon graduation from high school in 1972, she enrolled at the University of Florida where she has been relentlessly persuing the goal of a Ph.D.. She received her B.A. in anthropology in 1975 and her M.A. in 1977. She married Timothy Joseph Moore in 1980 and intends to live happily ever after doing good archeology.

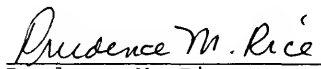
I certify that I have ready this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

  
Charles H. Fairbanks  
Distinguished Service  
Professor of Anthropology


I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

  
Jerald T. Milanich  
Associate Professor  
of Anthropology

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

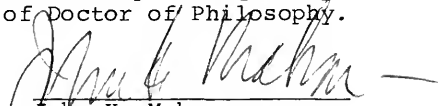
  
Prudence M. Rice  
Assistant Professor  
of Anthropology

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

  
Edward S. Deevey  
Graduate Research Professor  
of Zoology




I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

  
John K. Mahon  
Professor of History

This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of Anthropology in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate Council, and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

June 1981

  
Dean for Graduate Studies  
and Research

